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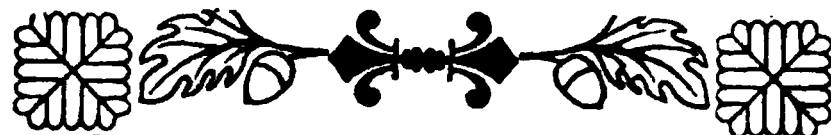
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Without Knowledge no Christianity, no
Independence, no Progress.
Christianity with Knowledge, and all
things are a happy Success.



LIBRARY OF
VARNUM T. HULL.

If thou art borrowed by a friend.
Right welcome shall he be,—
To read, to study, not to lend.
But to return to me.

Not that imparted Knowledge
Doth diminish learning's store,
But books, I find, if often lent,
Return to me no more,



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*His Royal Highness
William Duke of Gloucester.*



THE
HISTORY
OF
ROME,
FROM THE
Death of *Antoninus Pius*,
TO THE
Death of *Severus Alexander*.

By *WILLIAM WOTTON*, B.D.

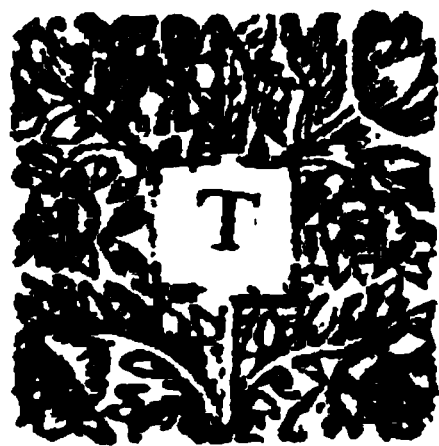


L O N D O N:
Printed for *Tim. Goodwin*, at the *Queen's-Head* against *St. Dunstan's Church*,
Fleetstreet. MDCCI.

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To the Right Reverend
GILBERT
Lord Bishop of SARUM,
And Chancellor of the Most Noble
Order of the Garter.

May it please Your Lordship,



O Accept of these
Papers, which were
at first composed
by Your Lordship's
Orders and Directi-
ons. They were design'd for the
Service of that Incomparable
A 2 Young

0 2-25-46 BFB

Epistle Dedicatory.

Young Prince, with whose Education Your Lordship was Intrusted by His MAJESTY, who best knew how Such a Prince ought to be Educated, and Who was the Fittest Person for such an Undertaking. The History of *Great Princes* was judged by Your Lordship to be the most agreeable Entertainment for Your Royal Pupil, who might have one day well expected to have worn a Crown himself. These particular Emperors of whom here is some Account given, were pitch'd on by Your Lordship as the properest Examples in the whole *Roman History*, to Instruct a Prince how much more Glorious and Safe it is, and Happier both for Himself and for his People, to govern well than ill. Your Lordship was at the Pains to draw up the Scheme by which I should proceed; but
when

Epistle Dedicatory.

when the Work was almost finished, God was pleas'd to take from us that Beloved Prince : A Prince of too great Hopes for such a wicked People. I was willing, however, to go on, that Your Lordship might see I had obey'd Your Commands with Pleasure.

I must own I was extremely pleas'd to meet with this Opportunity of acknowledging my Obligations to Your Lordship. Your Favours above Twenty Years ago bestow'd upon me were so Particular and Endearing, that I hope I shall never forget them. I had the Happiness then of passing some of my Younger Years under Your Lordship's Roof, and do now with all Thankfulness acknowledge that You were to me as a Second Father : And give me leave to tell Your Lordship that was one of the

Epistle Dedicatory.

Pleasantest, and the most Profitable parts of my Life.

I am ashamed to say what I learnt whilst I was with Your Lordship, because I made so little Improvement: But I shall never be ashamed to own, That then it was that I receiv'd Right Notions of our most Holy Religion, as it is profess'd and practis'd by the Church of *England*: And that as I always design'd to dedicate myself to the Service of God in that Communion, so by Your Lordship's Instructions I was made thoroughly sensible of the Importance and Dignity of that Holy Service, and of the Care that belongs thereto.

I thought my self bound out of Duty and Gratitude to Lay all this before Your Lordship in so
Public

Epistle Dedicatory.

Public a manner; and I say no more, lest if I should add any thing farther, I should become uneasy to Your Lordship. I am,

May it please Your Lordship,

Your Lordship's most Obliged, and

most Faithful Humble Servant,

W. WOTTON.

PREFACE.

T *Here needs very little more to be said concerning the Reason why this Work was undertaken, or why these particular Emperors were pitched upon for such a Design, than what has been said already in the Dedication. At first no more was intended, than the Lives of Marcus and Commodus, and of Elagabalus and Alexander. A very Bad Prince who immediately succeeded a very Good one; and a most Extraordinary Prince, who came after one of the most Profligate of Men; were thought the properest Instances to set Virtue and Vice, and the Consequences of them both in a clear and a full Light. And real Examples, if faithfully set forth, have a greater Influence upon the Minds of Men, than any feigned Story, tho never so artificially related.*

But as the Work grew up under my Hands, I found there was a Necessity of giving a clear Account of those intermediate

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mediate Emperors, who reigned between Commodus and Elagabalus, since otherwise the State of the Empire when Elagabalus took it, could not have been clearly understood. For the Maxims of Severus which were carefully pursued by his Son Caracalla, had in truth quite alter'd the whole Roman Government, and by making it entirely Military, had subjected every Emperor to the Humors of those Soldiers that at first set him up; which fatal Mistake in the Politics of Severus being the Ruine of Alexander, the last of that Prince's Family, I was willing to give a full View of the Roman Empire under that whole Race, that so the Disadvantages Alexander lay under, might the more easily be discerned. Besides, the Narrative would not have been so entire, if that Interval of XXVI Years had been omitted in the midst of the History; which would have taken off from the Usefulness as well as the Pleasure of such a Work. However, the Facts are not so minutely represented during that Interval, as they are before and afterwards.

In drawing up these Lives, the Causes and Springs of every Emperor's Actions are as faithfully and clearly represented, as my Memorials would give me leave; and where

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where the Ancients are not explicit, if I have indulged my self in any Conjectures, I have given my Reasons in the Notes ; not being desirous to be believed any farther than my Authorities will bear me out. For in making of these Collections, I can truly say with a Great Man of our own, ' That I have neither neglected nor transcribed those who have written before me : And if in some things I differ from them, it was not out of the Humor of opposing any great Names, but because I intended not to deliver other Mens Judgments, but my own. '

The Reader will find many things wherein Mr. de Tillemont, who has written the Histories of all these Emperors, and Mr. D'Acier, who has drawn up the Life of Marcus, and I agree : Following the same Authors, in the same Paths, it was impossible it should be otherwise ; especially as to Mons. de Tillemont, who fixes the Time of every Action which he mentions, with great Niceness ; and whose Design led him to collect all that he could find in any Ancient Author, that any ways related to the History of those Emperors. But as he has put into his History many things which were not to my purpose, so he has omitted many that were, and has frequently

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quently given short Hints of several matters which my Design led me to explain at full length. And the many Particulars wherein I declare against his Opinion, will with understanding and candid Men acquit me of copying from him.

I have all along paid a great Deference to the Authority of Medals, in illustrating the History of every Emperor, and in fixing the Times of their greatest Actions. That is a Field which has not been so thoroughly cultivated as most others have been; and it is but lately that Learned Men have had such general recourse to those undisputed Monuments of Antiquity, to explain many things which the Historians do very lamely tell us. Till great numbers of Medals had been collected and sorted by skilful and able Men, who had made it the business of their Lives to illustrate this delightful part of Knowledge, it was, comparatively speaking, but of little use: Whereas now (as the excellent Mons. Spanheim has at large demonstrated, in his admirable Book of the Excellency and Use of Medals, and in his Third Letter to Mons. Morelli, at the end of his Specimen Rei Nummariae) there is scarce any part of Antiquity, that Learned Men do not explain at every turn by Ancient Medals. One

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One Use, if there were no other, of Medals, is sufficient to recommend them to the Curious, which is, That from them we have the true Pictures of the Persons of all those Princes who formerly made so great a Figure in the World. This Piece of Entertainment I have endeavoured to give the Public, in those Tables of Medals which are prefixed to this Work. They are chiefly taken from the Collections of Angeloni, Morelli, and Vaillant, who are justly esteemed amongst the greatest and most skilful Antiquaries of this last Age. And Mr. Gribelin the Engraver, who has copied them from the Originals, has performed his part with so much Skill and Fidelity, that it will be no difficult matter from these Medals to form a distinct and a just Idea of the Persons of all those Princes and Princesses who have any share in the ensuing History.

Whereever any Sums of Money are mentioned, as of Sesterces, Denares, Aurei, or the like, I have reduced them to our way's of reckoning, that so the Donations or Expenses of every Prince might be the better comprehended. The Standard I have follow'd has been Sevenpence halfpenny as an Equivalent to a Denarius; that is the nearest English Sum that can be assigned,

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signed, and it being something short of the true value of a Denarius, there can be no deceit as to the History, in any of the Reductions that are made throughout the Work. For the design of these Reductions being rather to shew that so much Money was at such a time, and for such a reason laid out by such an Emperor, than that no more; this equally appears when the Denarius is nearly exprest by a Sum whose Value is exactly known, as when a just Equivalent is produced.

In my Stile I have endeavoured to be as plain and clear as I possibly could. Affectation of Eloquence becomes History the least of any thing, especially such a History as this, which like Mosaic Work must be made up and interwoven with the Thoughts and Sentences of other Men, and where to add to, or diminish from ones Authors, may be of ill consequence. Not that a Man is tied up to a verbal Translation, where he may leave out such Particulars as he apprehends are foreign to his purpose: If he does but represent the Thoughts entire, it is all that is required. And, after all, if I should alledge in my own Excuse, That the Loss of the principal End of my Writing, has occasioned a Heaviness that is visible in many Places of this Work, 'tis what all candid Persons will be ready to forgive.

July 1. 1701.

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CORRIGENDA.

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lin. 5 r 24. p. 60. lin. 1. dele *by dividing them*.
p. 71. lin. 15. r. *their*. p. 100. for *Antiquaria* r. *Num-*
maria. p. 106. lin. 24. for *two Attic Talents* r. *DC. Aurei*.
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sickly add *and Marcus so young*. p. 153. lin. 31. r. IMP.
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l. 11. r. *means neglected*. p. 482. l. 11. r. *who were so re-*
quire. p. 527. l. 9. after *Medals* add (*n*).

The Four Plates of Medals are to be bound next
after this Page ; and the Notes upon them imme-
diately to follow.



CORRIGENDA.

PAG. 2. Marg. r. *ibid*, § 3. pag. 35. lin. 4. r. 22.
 lin. 5 r 24. p. 60. lin. 1. dele *by dividing them*.
 p. 71. lin. 15. r. *their*. p. 100. for *Antiquaria* r. *Num-*
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 p. 142. marg. for l. 4. r. l. 9. p. 147. marg. r. c. 39. &
 c. 11 p. 148. marg. r. l. 4. c. 11. p. 151. lin. 27. after
sickly add *and Marcus so young*. p. 153. lin. 31. r. IMP.
 T. CAES. p. 156. lin. 22. r. 802 p. 175. lin. 11. r.
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rage. p. 182. l. 24. r. 176. p. 212. marg r. 822. p. 230.
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Tricclanus. p. 443. lin. 11. & 15. for *will* r. *would*. p. 469.
 l. 11. r. *means neglected*. p. 482. l. 11. r. *who were so re-*
quire. p. 527. l. 9. after *Medals* add (n).

The Four Plates of Medals are to be bound next
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Notes upon the foregoing Tables of Medals.

1. **T**his Page. Μάρκος ΑΤΡΗΑΙΟC ΑΝΤΩ-
ΝΙΝΟC CΕΒΑΣΤΩC. *Marcus Aurelius An-*
toninus Augustus. The Head of *Marcus.* On
the Reverse is *Orpheus* playing with his *Lyre,*
surrounded with a *Crowd of Animals.* *Mo-*
rellii Specimen rei nummariae. Pag. 20. Edit.
Paris. *Vide infra,* pag. 100.

Table 1. Medal 1. HADRIANUS AU-
GUSTUS. The Head of *Hadrian.* *Vaillan-*
ti Numism. maximæ moduli D. de Camps. p. 15.
Vid. inf. p. 10, 11.

Med. 2. ΑΤΤΟΥΡΑΤΩC ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΤΙΤΩC ΑΙΛΙΩC
ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC ΕΥΘΥCΩC. *Imperator*
Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius.
The Head of *Antoninus Pius.* *Vaillant. Nu-*
mis. de Camps. pag. 25.

Med. 3. DIVA AUGUSTA FAUSTINA.
The Head of *Faustina Senior,* the Mother
of *Faustina Junior,* and Wife of *Antoninus*
Pius. The Vail about her Head is a Mark
of her Consecration. *Vaillant ubi supra,*
pag. 29. *Vide infra,* pag. 33.

Med. 4. ΚΟΡΗ ΣΩΤΕΙΡΑ ΚΥΖΙΚΗΝΩΝ.
Proserpina Sororatrix Cyzicensorum. *Faustina Ju-*
nior's Head. She had probably been the
(a) occa-

occasion of *Marcus's* granting some particular Favors to the City of *Cyzicus* : For which reason they called her by the name of *Proserpina* their Tutelar Goddess. *Monf. Vaillant*, who has printed this Medal amongst the Medaglions of *Monf. de Camps*, pag. 35. says there, that *M. Aurelius* first made the *Cyziceni Neocori* of the Emperor : But in his *Greek Medals* he produces a Medal of *Hadrian's* with ΚΤΖΙΚΗΝΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ, which shews that *Hadrian* first gave them that Privilege.

Med. 5. ΑΥΤΟΥΡΑΤΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΙΟΥΣ ΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΑΤΗΝΑΙΟC ΟΥΗΡΟC. *Imperator Caesar Lucius Aurelius Verus*. The Head of *L. Verus* the Emperor, whom *Marcus* made his Collegue in the Empire after *Antoninus Pius's* death. *Morrellii Specimen rei nummariae*. Edit. Lips. Tab. 1.

Med. 6. LUCILLAE AUGUSTAE ANTONINI AUGUSTI FILIAE. *Lucilla's* Head. *Vaillant*. *Numism. de Camps*. pag. 41. *Vide infra*, pagg. 37. & 43.

Med. 7. IMPERATOR COMMODUS AUGUSTUS GERMANICUS SARMATICUS. CRISPINA AUGUSTA. The Heads of *Commodus* and his Empress *Crispina*. *Vaillant*. *ubi supra*, pag. 45. *Vide infra*, pagg. 110. & 237.

Med. 8. LUCIUS AELIUS AURELIUS COMMODUS AUGUSTUS PIUS FELIX. The Heads of *Commodus* and *Marcia* his Concubine yoaked together. *Marcia* is in Armor like an Amazon. *Angeloni Historia Augusta*. pag. 179. num. 38. *Vide infra* pagg. 231. & 257.

Med.

Med. 9. ἸΜΠΕΡΑΤΩΡ ΜΑΡΚΟϞ ΚΟΜΟΔΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟϞ ΑΥΓΟΥϞ. *Imperator Marcus Commodus Antoninus Augustus.* The Head of Commodus within a Wreath.

Med. 10. ΦΟΕΛΙΚΙΤΑϞ ΑΥΓΟΥϞ, *Foelicitas Augusti.* The Reverse of the former. A Lion tears a Horse. *Vide infra*, pag. 255.

T A B L E II.

Med. 1. LUCIUS AELIUS. AURELIUS. COMMODUS. AUGUSTUS PIUS FELIX. The Head of Commodus covered with a Lion's Skin, in imitation of *Hercules*.

Med. 2. HERCULI ROMANO CONDITORI Pontifici Maximo TRIBUNITIÆ POTESTATE XVII. CONSULI VII. PATRI PATRIÆ. The Reverse Commodus naked, with *Hercules's* Club and Lion's Skin in his Left Hand, driving a Plough drawn by two Oxen with his Right. *Vaillant. Numism. de Camps*, p. 49. *Vide infra*, pagg. 228. & 256.

3. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΚΑΙϞΑΡ ΠΕΒΛΙΟϞ ΕΛΤΙΟϞ ΠΕΡΤΙΝΑΞ. *Imperator Caesar Publius Helvius Pertinax.* Pertinax's Head. *Vaillant. Numism. de Camps.* pag. 57.

4. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΚΑΙϞΑΡ ΓΑΙΟ ΠΕϞΚΕΝΝΙΟ ΝΙΓΡΟ ΔΙΚΑΙΟϞ. *Imperator Caesaris Caio Pescennio Nigro Justo.* This rare Medaglion was brought by Mr. Falkner a considerable Merchant of London, out of the East, and sold by him for 40 Louis d'Ors to Monsr. *Vaillant*, who put it into the King of France's Cabinet. It has on the Reverse an Eagle sitting upon

upon Hercules's Club: with ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΘΕΩΝ (*Providentia Deorum*) inscribed round it. From whence Mons. *Vaillant* (*Numism. Græc.* pag. 89.) concludes it was stamped at Tyre. *Morellii Spec. rei Nummariae. Edit. Lips. Tab. 4.*

Med. 5. ΑΤΤΟΧΕΡΑΤΩΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΛΥΚΙΘ ΣΕΠΤΙΜΟΥ
 ΣΕΟΥΤΗΡΟΣ ΠΕΡΤΙΝΑΞ ΠΑΤΕΡ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ. *Impe-*
rator Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax
Pater Patriæ. Severus's Head. Vaillant Num.
de Camps. p. 59.

Med. 6. ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΚΤΗ. *Julia*
Domna Augusta. Julia Domna's Head upon a
Crescent. Vaillant. Numism. de Camps. p. 63.
 All these are Medaglions.

Medd. 7, & 8. ANNIUS VERUS CAESAR
 ANTONINI AUGUSTI FILIUS. The Head
 of *Annius Verus*. The Reverse, COMMO-
 DUS CAESAR ANTONINI AUGUSTI FI-
 LIUS. The Head of *Commodus* when a Child.
 These were *Marcus's* two Sons, who were
 made *Caesars* upon *Marcus* and *Lucius's* Tri-
 umph over the *Parthians*. *Vid. infra, p. 146.*
Vaillant Praest. Imp. Numismata, part. 1.
pag. 89.

Med. 9. IMPERATOR CAESAR MARCUS DIDIUS
 SEVERUS JULIANUS AUGUSTUS. *Didius Ju-*
lianus's Head. Vaillant ibid. pag. 106.

Med. 10. MANLIA SCANTILLA AUGU-
 STA. *Scantilla's Head. She was Wife of Didius Ju-*
lianus, and as S. C. upon the Reverse of
this Medal shews, declared Augusta by the
Senate, upon her Husband's Advancement.
Vaillant. ibid. p. 107.

T A B L E III.

Med. 1. DIDIA CLARA AUGUSTA. *Didia Clara's Head.* She was Daughter of *Didius Julianus*, and declared *Augusta* with her Mother by the Senate. *Vaillant. ibid. pag. 108.*

2. *CLODIUS SEPTIMIUS ALBINUS CAESAR.* *Albinus's Head.* This was coined before he declared himself *Augustus*. *Vid. infra, pag. 275. Vaillant. pag. 109.*

3. *ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΣΕΒΗΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ* *ANTONINOC SEBASIS.* *Imperator Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus Augustus.* *Caracalla's Head.* *Morellii Spec. rei Num. Tab. 4.*

4. *PLAUTILLAE AUGUSTAE.* *Fulvia Plantilla's Head.* She was Daughter of *Fulvius Plantianus* the Favorite of *Severus*, and Wife of *Caracalla* for some time. *Vid. infra, pag. 286. Vaillant. Praestant. Impp. Numism. part. 1. pag. 126.*

5. *IMPERATOR CAESAR MARCUS OPELIUS SEVERUS MACRINUS AUGUSTUS.* The Head of *Macrinus*. *Vaillant. ibid. pag. 132.*

6. *MARCUS OPELIUS ANTONINUS DIADUMENIANUS CAESAR.* The Head of *Diadumenianus*. *Vaillant ibid. pag. 134.*

7. *LAETITIA TEMPORUM.* A Ship in the middle, four *Quadrigae* running above, and several sorts of Animals running at one another below. It is a Reverse of a Medal of *Caracalla's*: It was struck in the Year

Year CCII, at *Severus's Decennalia*, in memory of those wonderful Spectacles which were then exhibited. *Vid. infra*, pag. 285. *Morellii Spec. rei Num. Tab. 6.*

8. ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΣ ΚΑΙCΑΡ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC ΑΥΓΟΥCΤΟC. ΙΟΥΑΙΑ ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΑ ΠΑΥΛΑ *Imperator Caesar Antoninus Augustus. Julia Cornelia Paula.* The Heads of *Elagabalus* and his first Wife *Julia Paula* together. This is a Medaglion; published by *Monf. Vaillant* in his *Numism. D. de Camps.* pag. 77. *Vid. infra*, pag. 402.

9. DIVA MAESA AUGUSTA. *Maesa's* Head covered with her Goddesses Veil. This shews that this Medal was coined in the Emperor *Alexander's* time; and S. C. on the Reverse intimates that her *Consecration* was by Order of the Senate. *Vaillanti Numism. Impp. praestant. part. I. pag. 141. Vid. infra*, pag. 522.

10. JULIA SOAEMIAS AUGUSTA. The Head of *Soaemias*, Mother of *Elagabalus*. *Vaillant. ibid. pag. 140.*

T A B L E IV.

Med. 1. JULIA AQUILIA SEVERA AUGUSTA. The Head of *Aquilia Severa*, second Wife of *Elagabalus*. *Vaillant. ibid. pag. 138. Vid. infra*, p. 403.

2. ANNIA FAUSTINA AUGUSTA. The Head of *Annia Faustina*, Grand-Daughter of *Marcus*, Third Wife of *Elagabalus*. *Vaillant. ibid. pag. 139. Vid. infra*, p. 403.

3. IM-

3. IMPERATOR CAESAR MARCUS AURELIUS SEVERUS ALEXANDER AUGUSTUS. *Alexander's Head. Vaillant. ibid. pag. 142.*

The Authority of this Medal justifies me in calling this Emperor *Severus Alexander*, and not *Alexander Severus*, as after *Lampri- dius* he is commonly called. This Medal is not particular, for all the other *Medals* that I ever saw, and all *Inscriptions* constantly call him *Severus Alexander*. Where *Medals* or *Marbles* agree in naming any Emperor, they are certainly to be follow'd, as being the truest Monuments of Antiquity. Accordingly in pursuance of this Rule, I have always said *Elagabalus*, not *Heliogabalus*; *Diadumenianus*, not *Diadumenus*; *Soaemias*, not *Soaemis*, and much less *Semiamira*; *Ope- lius*, not *Opilius*; and *Mamaea*, not *Mam- mea*.

4. JULIA MAMAEA AUGUSTA. *Mamaea's Head. Vaillant. ibid. pag. 147.*

5. SALLUSTIA BARBIA ORBIANA AU- GUSTA. *Orbiana's Head.* She was Wife of *Alexander*, and is no where mentioned but in *Medals*. *Vid. infra, pag. 527. Vaillant. ibid. p. 146.*

6. ALEXANDER. *Alexander's Head* covered with a Lion's Skin. *Angeloni*, to whom we are indebted for this curious Medal, does with great probability suppose that it was coined in memory of *Alexander's* affecting to be like his great *Macedonian* Name- sake. *Angeloni Historia Augusta, p. 230. Num. 4.*

7. MA-

7. MAXIMINUS PIUS AUG^{ustus} GERMANICUS. Maximinus's Head. *Vaillant Præst. Impp. Numism. part. 1. pag. 148.*

8. DIVA PAULINA. Paulina's Head with her Goddesses Veil. She is generally supposed to have been the Wife of Maximinus, and therefore (tho she is named by no Historian) I have placed her here. *Vaillant ibid. pag. 150.*

9. MAXIMUS CAESAR GERMANICUS. Maximus Head. He was the Son of Maximinus, and was killed with his Father at Aquileia. *Vaillant ibid. pag. 151.*

10. IMPERATOR CAESAR Marcus ANTONIUS GORDIANUS AFRICANUS AUG^{ustus}. The Head of the Eldest Gordian. *Vaillant ibid. pag. 152. Vid. infra, pag. 508.*

T H E
L I F E
O F

M. Aurelius Antoninus,
Emperor of *R O M E.*

C H A P. I.

*Of the Infancy and Study's of Marcus
Antoninus.*

S. I. **M** *Aurelius Antoninus*, Emperor
of *Rome*, was born in that *Capitolin.*
City, upon Mount *Coelius*,
April 26. in the Year of Christ 121. *A. C.*
His Father *Annius Verus*, tho but a pri- *121.*
vate Man, was of a very Noble Fami-
ly, and bore the greatest Offices of the
B Em.

A.C. 121. Empire, of which for his Age he was capable. His Grandfather *Annius Verus* was the second Time Consul that Year *Marcus* was born : His Collateral Relations were all likewise Noble. His Great-Grandfather by his Mother's side, *Catilius Severus*, was Governor of the City, and twice Consul. The Consulship was the greatest Honour any Subject in the Empire was capable of : On solemn occasions the Emperors took it generally themselves, or conferred it upon those of their Family whom they designed for their Successors ; and there are very few Instances of any private Men who enjoy'd this Honour above twice, after the *Roman* Government came into one Man's Hands : It being taken notice of as a mark of Condescension in *Hadrian* to the Senate, that he made some of its Members Consuls thrice, because he had so often enjoy'd that Honour himself. (a)

Mr. Anton. l. 1. § 1. Ibid. § 2. §. 2. *Marcus's* Father dying very young, he was at first educated by his Grandfather *Verus*, a sweet-temper'd Man, and one free from Passion. His Mother, who never omitted the care of her Son, was a Religious and a Liberal Woman, tho she affected Frugality

lity in her way of Living, far from the Pomp and Shew of Persons of her own Rank. Upon his Grandfather *Verus's* death he lived with her, 'till upon his Adoption into the Imperial Family, he was removed to the Emperor's House.

A.C.

121.



§. 3. His Great-Grandfather *Catilius*, whose Name *Marcus* bore in his younger Years, was a Man of a severe Temper. He kept his Grandson strictly to his Studies at home, and obliged him to frequent the Lectures and Exercises of the Rhetoricians, who read publicly in *Rome*, that he might lose no sort of Advantages for Learning, that were then to be had.

Ibid § 4.

§. 4. His Domestic Tutor, whose Name we have lost, seems to have been a very wise Man. He educated this his Pupil suitably to the Idea's which he knew would be most agreeable to those who entrusted him with so great a Charge. He taught him early to avoid the Factions of the *Circus* and *Amphitheater*, which divided most of the young Noblemen of that Time. He taught him likewise to endure Toil, to be content with little, to labour with his own Hands, and to be accustomed

Ibid. §. 5.

A.C. early not to concern himself with other
 121. Mens business, and never willingly to
 receive Reports to another's prejudice.

§. 5. As he grew up, *Marcus* had the best Masters which that Age, that was a very learned one, could afford. The first thing that was usually taken care of in those times, was that their young Noblemen should speak and write the *Roman* and *Greek* Languages accurately. Tho they were then living Languages, yet it was customary to learn them from Grammarians by Profession; a Profession amongst the Ancients very honourable. This brought all those to speak and write correctly, who might probably make at any time a more than ordinary figure in their Commonwealth.

§. 6. No part of this Care was omitted in the Education of our young Prince. He was therefore for this purpose committed to one *Euphorion* a Grammarian, *Geminus* a Player, and *Andron* a Musician, to modulate his Voice, guide his Accents, and teach him to spell exactly; Qualifications equally necessary to the pronouncing justly whatsoever he might at any time have occasion to speak.

§. 7.

§. 7. His Master for the *Greek* was one *Alexander* a *Cotyæan*: For the *Latin*, *Trocius Aper* of *Pola*, and *Euty chius Proculus* an *African*. *Proculus* obliged him so much in the discharge of his Duty, that he afterwards raised him to the Dignity of *Proconsul*, whilest he took the Burthen of the Office upon himself.

A.C.
121.

Capitolin.
in Marco.
cap. 2.

§. 8. *Marcus* tells a remarkable thing of his Master *Alexander*, which shews him to have been a very wise Man, and a great Master of good Breeding; (a Quality for which he is particularly commended by *Aristides*), as well as of Language, which was his more immediate business. This was, that it was one of *Alexander's* Instructions* to his Pupil, that if at any time a word should happen to be sayd improperly, or pronounced awkwardly in his Presence, not to put the Person that made the mistake out of countenance, but onely to repeat the words after him just as they should be sayd, by way of reply to the thing itself, not by way of finding fault, or ridiculing the Person that made the blunder.

In orat. in
Alexandr.

M. Ant.
l. 1. §. 10.

§. 9. This tho in itself it may appear but a little thing, yet *Marcus*
B 3 thought

A.C. thought it worth rememembring with a
 121. mark of acknowlegement, of his old
 ~ Master *Alexander*. Nothing comes so
 obligingly from a Prince, as the cover-
 ing of the mistakes which those who
 have the Honour to be about him, may
 have the misfortune to commit in his
 Presence. They are pleased with an
 opinion that he loves them, when he
 shews so great a Tenderness for them,
 as to secure them from the little insults
 of the Company, which are almost na-
 turally made upon such occasions.

S. 10. When the course of their
 Grammatical Study's was past, the
 young Nobility in those day's were ge-
 nerally taught Rhetoric. It was count-
 ed a reproach if they could not speak
 in public upon all occasions elegantly
 and correctly. All the Emperors of the
Julian Family, even *Caligula* himself,
 were well versed in this sort of Learn-
 ing ; and those that in other things
 were Monsters of Mankind, yet va-
 lued and encouraged these Arts, which
 underwent no Discredit upon the Ac-
 count of their being cultivated by Men
 who in all other respects procured them
 so much dishonour.

§. 11. For the *Greek* Eloquence, besides this *Alexander*, who was a Man universally skilled in the Language and Antiquity's of that Nation, he heard *Annius Macer*, *Caninius Celer*, and *Herodes Atticus*; for the *Latin*, *Cornelius Fronto*: This *Fronto* was a true Philosopher, as well as an Orator. *Marcus* afterwards when he was Emperor, and acknowledged what he learnt from him, omitted his Rhetoric, wherein he so excelled, that after-Ages compared him to *Cicero* himself, and observed that *Fronto* taught him early to understand and see thro the Envy, the Dissimulation, and the Tricks of a Court. This Man, from whom *Marcus* learnt such extraordinary things, was not unrequited, when the Emperor desired a Statue to be erected for him in the Senate-House, and made him once Secondary Consul for two Months. (b)

A.C.

121.

Aristid.

M. Ant.

l. 1 §. 11

§. 12. But Rhetoric and Grammar were Arts which soon lost their relish with *Marcus*. Philosophy was his darling Study, which he fell to when he was a Child, and never left all his Life. He was not 12 Years old when he took the Habit, and practised the

A.C. Austerity's of the Philosophers of those
133. Times. The Precepts of that Sect of
 Philosophers which he addicted himself
 to, were directed to the bringing Men
 to such a state, that they should neither
 do, nor suffer, nor covet, nor aime at
 any thing which was not warranted by
 the strictest Reason; and that in every
 Relation, the Duty's proper to that
 Relation ought to be exactly followed.

§. 13. One may think perhaps that
 this rigorous way of educating Great
 Mens Sons, and young Princes, was
 so common at that time, that all of
 them were accustomed to be so treated
 from their Infancy; and then the gene-
 rality of the custom would take off
 from the uneasiness or the wonder. But
 those that are conversant in the History
 of the *Romans*, after their Conquests
 came once to be extended into the *East*,
 know that no sort of Luxury, I had
 almost sayd Effeminacy, was unpracti-
 sed amongst them. The corrupt Reigns
 of most of the *Roman* Emperors after
Augustus, had introduced all manner of
 Excesses into that State: and the Ty-
 ranny of several who reigned a consi-
 derable time, had brought in all those
 evil Effects which naturally attend De-
 spotic

spotic Power: When little servile Arts are absolutely necessary to preserve ones self from Danger, or to creep into the Princes Favor. So that the Example of *M. Aurelius* was then as extraordinary, as it can appear admirable now.

A.C.
133.
~~~~~

§. 14. This is the Reason why the minutest passages of *Marcus's* Education are so carefully preserved. They would have been overlookt had they been common; at least we should have had frequent Examples of like Care in Tutors, and like Proficiency in Scholars, in the Lives of other great Men of Antiquity. But indeed the Severity's which *Marcus* thus early imposed upon himself, were then the Admirati-  
on of the world. His Mother had much ado to get him but to cover the Bed on which he lay, with Skins: This was a piece of Luxury his beloved Stoics disapproved of in their exact Professors: And *Marcus* thought it below him to be afraid of any corporal Severity's, which he apprehended were necessary to keep his Body in a due Subjection to that *ruling Faculty*, from which alone we ought to be called rational Beings.

Capit. in  
Marco.  
cap. 2.

§. 15. These extraordinary Indications of a great and a good Man, were  
not

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138.



not lost upon the world. It was *Marcus's* and Mankinds Felicity; that he was brought up for the first 18 Years of his Life under the Emperor *Hadrian*, a Prince that knew how to value Learning and Worth wherever he found them. A Prince who made it his Business to inspect every Province of his Empire, and to redress their Grievances himself in Person; and who seems to have had this excellent piece of Vanity, that he was resolved to leave his Empire in such Hands as might make his Memory as dear after his Death, as his Person *generally* was whilest he lived.

§. 16. I am aware that there are several passages in the Life of *Hadrian*, which are very liable to censure. His passionate Fondness for his Favorite *Antinous*, which he carry'd so far as to get him deify'd after his Death, shew'd a very great and criminal weakness.

Dio. l. 69.

p. g. 288.

D.

The Severity's used in the beginning and end of his Reign, towards some of the greatest Men in *Rome*, rendred him very odious to the Senatorial Order, especially those which he shew'd at his Death. But the Flaw in his Title at first did in some measure excuse his taking off those 4 Senators who were put  
to

to Death in the beginning of his Reign, who perhaps every one desired the Empire for himself. And the long Indisposition, of which he dy'd, with his delaying to nominate a Successor almost to the last, after the Death of *Cejonius Commodus*, did naturally give ambitious Men a handle to form Intrigues, and attempt for themselves. The few Senators whom *Hadrian* would have put to Death when himself lay a dying, were popular Men; and that raised an Odium against him at that time. But Princes are alway's jealous of their Power, and the more so, when thro Age and Feebleness they are conscious to themselves that their Reputation begins to lessen amongst their Subjects. Now tho nothing can wipe off the stain of Cruelty, yet in *Hadrian* these considerations ought to make the Memory of the Adopter of *Marcus* to be very gently treated by Posterity. For if we set aside these few Instances of Severity in the beginning and end of his Government, he was in most other respects a Blessing to the *Roman* Empire for XX Years together.

A.C.  
138.  
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§. 17. The Person whom *Hadrian* seem's first to have pitched upon to succeed

A.C. 138. succeed him in the Empire, was our *Marcus*. Whether his Father *Annius Verus*, or his Grandfather, were particular Favorites of *Hadrian's*, do's not appear at this distance: Tho his Grandfather seem's to have been a Favorite, by his being made thrice Consul. (c.) It is certain that they were related to him; and that was the Reason that

A.C. 136. When *Hadrian* adopted *L. Cejonius Commodus*, he obliged him to assume the name of *Aelius Verus* (d): *Aelius* was the Name of *Hadrian's* Family, as *Verus* was the Surname of the *Annii*. (e) This shew's that *Hadrian* payd a particular regard to the *Annian* Family, before the Adoption of *Marcus*.

§. 18. The Reason why *Marcus* seem's first to have been designed by *Hadrian* for the Empire, antecedently to the Adoption of *L. Commodus*, is, because *L. Commodus* was not adopted by *Hadrian* till his declining Year's, when he perceived *Commodus* to be so unhealthy, that he must soon make way for another: And when he found that *L. Commodus* dy'd before him, he pitched (f) upon *T. Arrius Antoninus*, Uncle in Law to *Marcus*, and obliged him, tho a healthy Man, and in the strength of his



his Age, and perhaps a Father of Sons himself (*g*), to adopt *M. Annius Verus*, whom in all probability he would have obliged *L. Commodus* likewise to have adopted; if he had lived much longer: And tho he took the Son of *L. Commodus* into the Imperial Family, yet he gave the precedence to *Marcus* (*b*), because he was more nearly related to himself.

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§. 19. Besides, the Honours conferred upon *Marcus* by *Hadrian* in his Infancy, and the particular Care that Emperor took of his Education, doe shew that he was even then designed for the Empire. At six Years old he was made one of the *Equites* of Rome, at eight he was made one of the *Priests* of *Mars*. In this Office, whilst a Child, he was chief President of the College; and without a Promter or a Guide, he officiated himself, having perfectly master'd whatsoever was necessary for that Business.

A. C. 127.



Capit. in  
Marco.

cap. 4.

A. C. 129.



§. 20. *Marcus's* Tutors in *Philosophy* were not fewer than those he had formerly in *Grammar* and *Rhetoric*. We have the Names preserved of *Junius Rusticus*, *Sextus* of *Chæroneæ*, Grandson to the famous *Plutarch*, *Cinna Catulus*,  
*Maxi-*

A.C. *Maximus*, and *Apollonius* of *Chalcis*.  
 138. These were all Stoic's, whose Manners  
 and Discipline suited best with that  
 grave and composed Temper, which  
 even in his Childhood was so conspi-  
 cuous.

§. 21. The way of teaching which  
 these Philosophers us'd was chiefly by  
 Discourse. They usually ran thro the  
 whole System of moral Virtues, espe-  
 cially those Duty's which were most  
 proper for their Pupils to understand  
 and practise. The Art of Government  
 was what this young Prince chiefly  
 stood in need of; and the Event shew'd  
 that their Instructions were not lost  
 upon him.

§. 22. Towards the latter end of his  
 Life, *M. Antoninus* drew up a Body of  
*Meditations*, and *Miscellaneous Thoughts*  
*concerning himself*, with the Observati-  
 ons which he had made, or his Ma-  
 sters had suggested to him. These *Me-*  
*ditations*, which are still extant, he de-  
 signed in all probability for the use of  
 his Son *Commodus*. The Reason for  
 which they are taken notice of here,  
 is, that in the beginning of that Work  
 he recollects what he chiefly learnt of  
 all his Teachers, that stuck most by  
 him,

him, and for which he thought himself the most obliged to them. Now we cannot have a juster Idea of these Men, than by observing what sort of things they taught their Pupil.

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§. 23. We are told by *Marcus*, that *Rusticus* first made him sensible that his Mind truly stood in need of Instruction and Amendment: That those Study's which young Men were then so fond of, such as *Logic* and *Rhetoric*, the *Knack of declaiming* and *disputing* publicly upon all Questions that should be offer'd, were not Accomplishments to rest upon, or to value ones self by when attained: He taught him never to affect that Philosophic Austerity, which his way of Living might betray him to: That an easy way of writing Letters would be of great use to him: That he should early learn to bear with and forgive those that vexed and disturbed him; especially whensoever they acknowledged their fault: That a superficial Knowledge of any thing did more harm than good: And that great Talkers should always be mistrusted.

lib. 1. §. 7.

§. 24. The Honours which *Marcus* paid to *Rusticus*, shew'd how much he valued these Instructions: He never afterwards

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Capit. in  
Marco.  
cap. 3.

terwards did any thing of moment, public or private, without communicating them to him, as long as this Man lived. And to let the world see how much he honbr'd him, *Marcus* alway's saluted him in public before the Captain of his Guards. He nominated him a second time Consul, and begged of the Senate to erect Statues to his Honor after his Decease.

M. Ant.  
lib. 1. § 8.

§. 25. *Apollonius* taught him true freedom of mind, and a resolution in pursuing the designs of Life without wavering and hæsitiation: To look still to Reason in every thing he undertook: To keep an even Temper under the severest Accidents of Life, such as Pain, and Sicknefs, and Loss of Children: To learn by him to be remiss and eager as occasion served: Never to be morose when he was instructing others: To accept of an Obligation, without being a slave to the Giver, or insensible of his Kindness.

M. Ant.  
l. 1. §. 9.

§. 26. *Sextus* was a mild and sweet-temper'd Man: He instructed his Pupil how to govern his House like a common Father to his whole Family: How to keep to the Dictates of Nature in his way of Living: To be grave, without

without affectation: To be solicitous to find out and promote the Interest of his Friends: To bear with those who knew little, and talked confidently of what they did not understand: And to be compliant to all Mankind. This last was so peculiarly the Talent of this great Philosopher, that tho he never lost that Reverence which was due to him in Conversation, yet his way of Conversation was more entertaining than the most exquisite Flattery. He had an excellent Method of finding out and explaining useful Rules and Instructions of Life: He was a Man free from Anger, or any other violent Passion, tho pitiful and compassionate, as occasion offered: He could enjoy a great Reputation, without being puffed up with it; and was very learned, without making a shew of it.

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S. 27. *Marcus* went to Lectures to this Man, after he came to the Empire, when he was well in Years: And when *Lucius* a Sophist laughed at him for it, and held up his Hands with wonder to Heaven, to see *the Emperor of the Romans with his Table-Book by his side, go to his Masters like a School-Boy to learn, whilst his King Alexander had conquer'd*

Philostat.  
Vir. So-  
phist. p.  
556.

A.C. the world by that time he was XXXII  
 138. Years of Age; Marcus was not out of  
 countenance, but told him, That a  
 Man could never be too old to learn, espe-  
 cially when he could be taught what he ne-  
 ver knew before.

§. 28. He thought it worth remem-  
 M. Ant. bring, that Alexander the Platonist  
 l. 1. §. 12. taught him never to *pretend* Business in  
 his Letters to his Friends, as an excuse  
 for not doing what they desired, un-  
 less he could not avoid it; and to be-  
 ware of alledging the necessity of Af-  
 fairs, as a Reason why he did not com-  
 ply with their expectations.

Ibid. §. 13. §. 29. *Catulus* taught him to shew no  
 uneasyness at the Reproofs of his  
 Friends, even when they were in the  
 wrong: To speak well and heartily of  
 his Masters, and to love his Children  
 sincerely.

Ibid. l. 1.  
 § 15. §. 30. *Maximus*, another of his  
 Teachers, was a Man of wonderful  
 Honesty, and of a very happy Temper.  
 He never *sayd* any thing which was  
 not believ'd to be his real Opinion,  
 nor *did* any thing which was miscon-  
 strued as done out of an ill Design:  
 He was not apt to be surpriz'd or amaz'd  
 at any thing that was unusual: Nei-  
 ther

ther hasty nor slow : Never discovering perplexity, dismayedness, vexation, rage, or distrust : Ever doing good, and ever ready to forgive : Exactly observant of Sincerity and Truth : And of so settled a Temper, that one would have thought he had never once been in the wrong all his Life : Free from contempt of others, and not apt to give them Cause to suspect that he valued himself above them : Very lucky, and very entertaining in his Jest.

A.C.

138.



§. 31. From this Man, of whom *Marcus* has given us this admirable Character, he learnt to be Master of himself: Never to be under the Dominion of his Passions: To bear all Cross Accidents, or Infirmy's of Body, without being moved: To acquire such an Evenness of Temper, as should be winning and yet Majestic: And to go thro the affair's of Life, without murmuring and complaining.

§. 32. These were the Qualifications, and these were some of the Instructions of those Men who had the Care of *M. Antoninus* in his Youth: It was no wonder that he proved so Excellent a Man. This Account of their Persons and their Admonitions,

A.C. 138. which is all taken out of *Marcus* himself, shews that he minded and took Care to practise what they sayd. But when we consider that he had a Domestical Teacher beyond all those Philosophers, who practised more than ever they taught, we must not wonder at any thing which he should afterwards arrive at. *Antoninus Pius*, who adopted him by *Hadrian's* Order, was without all controversy one of the most extraordinary Governors that any People was ever blest with. His Wife *Faustina* was Aunt to *Marcus*, which probably was the chief Reason of *Antoninus's* Adoption by *Hadrian*, that *Marcus's* Youth might be thoroughly formed, before he was intrusted with so vast a Power.

§. 33. If this was *Hadrian's* motive in adopting *Antoninus*, he was not deceived in his aim : If it was chiefly to shew his Concern for the People of *Rome*, that was yet a nobler End, and worthy of so great a Prince. Those who consider what a Character *Antoninus* has left behind him, will easily believe that a Young Prince of *Marcus's* Disposition, must needs profit more by him who was in the Exercise of Supreme



preme Power, than by Men who knew nothing of the Temptations it brings along with it, by their own Experience.

A.C.

138.




M. Ant.

L. 1 § 16.

§. 34. *Antoninus Pius* was a Prince of great Sweetness of Temper, yet true to such Resolutions as were made after due Deliberation: Not vainglorious or ambitious of what was commonly called Honour: Assiduous in Labour: Ready to hear whatsoever was proposed for the advantage of the Public: Resolute in giving every Man what he truly deserved: Skilful to discern where he might be rigorous, and where remiss: Chast and courteous: Desirous of the Company of his Friends, yet not so, as to make their attendance troublesome to themselves: Careful of their Interests when they were absent from him: Inquisitive and patient in all Consultations; never taking up with superficial notices, when he could come at a fuller Knowledge by a more painful search: Constant in his Friendships: Not soon cloy'd, nor foolishly fond: Never suffering his Favorites to grow upon him, and by their Credit with him to oppress the People, but examining and hearing every thing himself.

Id. l. 6 §

30.

A.C. 138.  He would look after even the least things without ostentation: He repress all flattering acclamations: Always preserved the public Stock with Care, and moderated the Expences of the Government with great Constancy, even when sometimes People murmured against him upon that Account. He was not superstitious, nor ever did any thing out of an Affectation of Popularity: but was still vigilant and firm, and an enemy to all new-fangled Innovations. Those Conveniency's of Life which his Station always administred in great Plenty, he used without Vanity, enjoying them when they were at hand, without shewing any regret for them when they could not be had. He was learned without Pedantry: a thoroughly settled Man, who knew how to command himself and other Men. He honoured those that were Philosophers indeed, without upbraiding those that were not. In Conversation he was easy and pleasant, yet never to a fault. He took care of himself, without discovering a fondness for Life: Neither nice, nor negligent: Managing himself so, as seldom to stand in need of Physicians all his Time: He never envied  
any

any Persons in his Empire, who were remarkably skilful in any Art or Science; which was a Weakness much blamed in his Father *Hadrian*; but would assist them himself, and honour them when they performed any thing excellent. Tho he understood the Law's of his Countrey admirably well, yet he never boasted of his Knowledge. Because former Princes progresses had been burthensome to the People, he always resided in *Rome*, or near it, that he might still be at the Center of his Empire, the better to redress the Grievances of his People. When he had at any time endured a Fit of the Head-Ach, a Disease he was very subject to, he returned to his Business with as much Vigor as ever, as soon as it was over. In his public Distributions to the People, or Games and Spectacles exhibited for their Diversion, tho he was as munificent as his Condition required, yet he took such Care to manage them and himself, that it was visible Vainglory was the least of his Aims: He was studious of avoiding Bustle and Stir, in whatsoever he undertook; executing every thing that he had once resolved upon, with great Ease and Quietness.

A.C.

138.

Sparr. in  
Hadr. cap.  
15.

Capit in  
Pio. cap. 7.

M. Ant.  
l. 1. § 16

A.C.

138.



§. 35. In this Character of *Antoninus*, as extraordinary as it seem's, nothing appears more wonderful, than that he never stirred out of *Italy* during his whole Reign, and yet that every Province of the Empire was govern'd with as great Exactness, as if he had inspected it all himself. To any Man that reflects upon the Extent of the *Roman* Empire when *Antoninus* govern'd it, this cannot but seem very amazing. It plainly shew's what Method and Resolution can effect. *Hadrian* had set the whole Business of that vast Empire in as exact Order, as any private Man do's his domestic Concerns. To do this, he visited every Province himself, and heard and redrest all their Grievances in Person. Tho those Progresses were very burthensome for the time, yet they made *Antoninus's* part much the easier. But it is impossible for all that; that *Antoninus* should have governed the Empire as he did, if he had not been a great Man himself. When one considers the multiplicity of Officers requisite for the management of so great a Body; the distance of most of the Provinces from Court; the expence and trouble of sending Solicitors thither

ther in cases of Complaint ; the innumerable opportunities which corrupt Magistrates must unavoidably meet with, of oppressing the People at a distance, and of stifling any Accusations before they could reach the Ear's of the Prince ; the different Interests of the several Provinces, and many times of different City's in the same Province ; the numberless Grievances of such divided Nations, which must all be redrest by one single Person ; with a World of other difficulty's, of which we at this distance of time can have no sort of Notion : When, I say, all these things are consider'd, so *Still* a Government increases our Admiration. Twenty three Year's makes a considerable share in the Lives of the generality of Mankind. What disturbances, what confusions have we not seen, in much less time ? Yet thus long did this Excellent Emperor keep that mighty Frame together in so great Tranquility, that all his Subjects esteem'd him as their common Father. Some Risings indeed there were, but they were soon suppressed, and the memory of them in general is but just preserved. Whilst so many Kings and Emperors have been  
applaud-

A.C. 138. applauded for putting the World into a Flame, it would be a Reproach to Human Nature, if such Princes as *Antoninus* should not meet with a more than ordinary Commendation from Posterity. There are two things which Subjects wish for from their Governors, Peace at home, and Security from Enemy's abroad; and the latter too only in Order to secure the first. Which of these is hardest to be procured, is uncertayn: The Reigns of *Antoninus* and his Son *Marcus*, are eminent Patterns of both. If the latter be the more difficult, then *Marcus's* Character will shine the brightest; if the former, then *Antoninus's*. It would lead me too much out of the way, to offer at deciding this Question; and besides, both these Princes were in their several way's so very extraordinary, that no great things that can be sayd of one of them, will ever be look'd upon as a diminution to the Reputation of the other.

§. 36. As *Antoninus's* Subjects had Reason to think themselves happy under his Government, so to their Honour it must be confest that they did so. His Successors for a considerable time took

took his *Name*, with more satisfaction than that of *Cæsar* or *Augustus*: And nothing less than the infamous Vices of *Elagabalus*, who was the last Emperor that affected it, made it be layd aside. The *Romans* revered him as another *Numa*; and neighbouring Princes payd him so great Respect, that they submitted their private Differences to his Arbitration. Under him it was that *Marcus* finished that Education which was begun under *Hadrian*, and which enabled him to do those great Things which shall be related hereafter.

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A.C.

138.

Cap. in  
Pio. c. 13.  
Ibid. c. 9.

## C H A P. II.

*Of the Actions of Marcus, 'till the Death of Antoninus Pius.*

S. I. **A**SSOON as *Hadrian* was dead, whilst *Antoninus* was gone to *Baiæ* (*i*), to fetch his Body, *Marcus*, who upon his Adoption had now taken upon him the Surname of *Aurelius*, took care of the Funeral, which was very magnificently performed. He was now *Quæstor*, tho but in

A.C.

138.

A.C.

138.

Capit. in  
Marc. c.6.

in the xviii<sup>th</sup> Year of his Age, the Senate at *Hadrian's* desire dispensing with his Youth: Yet tho so young, and in so great an Office, 'twas observed that he exhibited the Spectacles then customary, without taking more State upon himself than any private Senator would have done upon the like occasion. (k)

A.C.

139.

Mediob.in  
M. Aurel.

Soon after he was designed Consul for next Year, and had the Title *Cæsar*, which was then a certain Mark of his Designation to the Empire; and as such, Medals were stamped, signifying his Advancement.

Cap. in  
Marco.  
cap. 6.

§. 2. Before he entred upon the Consulat, he was made one of the six Colonels of the Troops of Knights; and when with his Colleagues he exhibited Games upon that Occasion (it being usual for all that entred upon splendid and honourable Offices, to exhibit Spectacles and Games to the People at their first coming in) the Emperor assisted at them himself, to do him the greater Honour. He took him also into the Palace, received him at the command of the Senate into the College of Priests; and tho against his will, made him live up to the State of the Successor of the Empire.

A.C.

140.



§. 3. None of these Honours alter'd our young Philosopher; he follow'd his Study's as closely as ever: And tho he might seem past a Child, yet he did not think himself too old to learn, but sent for the most famous Philosophers of his Empire to instruct him in the true Arts of Governing.

A.C.

140.



§. 4. *Apollonius* was one of these Philosophers, who was sent for on purpose from *Chalcis*: His Character has been given already out of *M. Antoninus*, who best knew him. Many of the Philosophers of that Age were noted for Covetousness and Pride, and *Lucian* who makes a jest of every thing that is serious, in *Demonax's Life* brings in that Philosopher laughing at this *Apollonius* and his *Argonauts*, (1) when he went with a considerable Train to *Rome*, upon his being sent for by *Antoninus*: *Capitolinus* tells an odd Story of him, which if true, will give us a much greater Idea of these Emperors *Antoninus* and *Marcus*, than of this Philosopher, to whom they paid so great a Respect. When *Apollonius* was come to *Rome*, the Emperor sent for him to the Palace, to instruct young *Marcus* there: No, say's our Philosopher, the Scholar

Chap. i.

§. 25.

In Demo.  
naſte.

Cap. in  
Pio. cap.  
10.

A.C. might set the good Old Man against  
140. him.

Cap. in  
Marco.  
c. 6.

§. 7. *Valerius Omullus*, one of *Antoninus's* Courtiers, being one day walking with him in the Garden, saw *Lucilla*, *Marcus's* Mother, paying her Devotions to a Statue of *Apollo*, which was erected there: *What do you think Lucilla is a doing*, say's *Valerius* to *Antoninus*? *She is praying for your Death, that her Son may reign.*

§. 8. But that excellent Prince was proof against such Insinuations. He knew why *Hadrian* took him into the Government, and he faithfully performed his Trust. He heaped all the Honours upon *Marcus* in his younger Year's, which he thought *Marcus* was possibly capable of. He taught the *Romans* to look upon this young Prince as his Successor; and he took care also to have the Education of him completed, which was begun under *Hadrian*; that he might be every way a Blessing to that great People.

A.C. §. 9. In the IX<sup>th</sup> Year of his Reign  
147. *Pius* took *Marcus* into the Government, giving him the *Tribunitial Power* within the City, and the *Proconsular Power* without: This was making him equal  
to

to himself in every thing in effect but Title: For it appear's by his Coin's, that *Marcus*, who reckoned the Year's of his *Tribunitial Power* from this Assumption into the Government in the IX<sup>th</sup> Year of *Antoninus*, never took the Title of *Augustus* till his Father's Death.

A.C.

147.



§. 10. It is not certain what Year *Marcus* married. It is probable it was two Years before he was invested with the *Tribunitial Power*, in the Year 145, when he was the Second Time Consul. There is a Medal extant with C O S. II. upon it, on the Reverse of which are *Marcus* and *Faustina*, with *Concord* joyn- ing both their Hands. The mark of the *Second Consulat* without that of the *Tri- bunitial Power*, which is rarely omitted in any of the *Latin Coins* of *Marcus*, shew's that the Marriage of *Marcus* commemorated in this Medal, was so- lemnized either that Year, or the next. Upon *Aelius Verus's* Death, *Hadrian* de- signed *Verus's* Daughter *Fabia* for *Mar- cus*; but she being much too young, and *Faustina* the Empress being sollici- tous for her Daughter *Faustina's* Ad- vancement, broke those Engagements, and obliged *Marcus* to marry that young

A.C.

145.



Medio-  
barb. p.  
212.

Capit. in  
Marco.  
cap 6.

D

Lady;

A.C.

147.



Lady ; by whom he had this Year a Daughter, who was afterwards married to the younger *Verus*, whom *Marcus* made his Partner in the Empire, after *Antoninus's* Death.

§. 11. After this, we find nothing remarkable of *M. Aurelius*, till *Antoninus's* Death. *Marcus* seem's never of his own accord to have interposed in the Government whilst his Father lived ; tho by his Father's appointment and the Senates consent, he was invested in most particulars with the Supreme Power. But nothing of all this exalted him : He was still exactly observant of *Antoninus* : And in all the XXIII Years of *Antoninus's* Reign, he was but two Nights away from him out of the Palace, and that too at different times.

Capit. in  
Marco.  
cap. 7.

§. 12. It was no wonder then that they lived together with the greatest Friendship. *Antoninus's* Love encreased, the longer they lived together, towards *Marcus*, who was now doubly his Son by Adoption and by Marriage. When he was a dying, the good old Emperor solemnly recommended to him the Republic and his Daughter, and ordered the *Statue of Fortune*, which as a Pledge of the Public Felicity was al-  
way's

way's kept in the Emperors Bed-Chamber, to be removed to *Marcus's*, and soon after dy'd, *March 6. CLXI.* leaving, after a peaceful Reign of XXIII Years, VII Months, and XXVI Day's, the Government in the Hands of one who alone was able to make the People of *Rome* forget the Loss of so good and so wise a Prince.

*A.C.*

161.



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C H A P. III.

*Of the Actions of M. Antoninus,  
'till the Death of L. Verus.*

S. I. **A**FTER *Antoninus* was dead at *Lorium*, the Senate payd him those Honours readily, which they were forced to pay against their Wills to many other Emperors. *Marcus*, who now took the Government entirely upon himself, found no difficulty in procuring his Father's Consecration. Temples, and Colleges of Priests were of course decree'd, and the Highest Honours ever known to be granted before, were now chearfully payd to his Memory, who had so long kept them in

*A.C.*

161.



Capit. in  
Marco.  
cap. 7.

Idem in  
Pio. c. 13.

A.C. 161. Peace from Enemy's abroad, and amongst themselves at home.

Idem in  
Marc. c. 7.

Idem in  
Verc. c. 2.

Ibid. c. 3.

§. 2. The first thing which *Marcus* did after his Father's Decease, was to take *L. Verus* into the Government. This *Lucius* was the Son of *L. Cejonius Commodus*, who was made *Cæsar* by *Hadrian*, and designed by him for the Empire, after his Death. Upon *L. Commodus's* Death, *Hadrian* (as we have seen) adopted *Antoninus Pius*, upon condition that he should adopt this *L. Commodus's* Son, after *Marcus*. This *Antoninus* did; and as long as he lived, young *Lucius* was in his Family as his Son, but without having any share in the Government (o) as his Father's Colleague. Indeed when he put on the *Toga Virilis*, *Antoninus* made a Donative to the People; and when as *Quæstor* he exhibited public Games in his own Name, he sat between *Antoninus* and *Marcus* in the Theater. The Year after his *Quæstorship*, he was made Consul with *Sextilius Lateranus*; and some Years after that, with his Brother *Marcus*: But still he acted onely as a Minister under his Father, whilst he executed these Offices, neither had he any Title but the Son of *Augustus* given him.

The

The Reason of this seem's to have been, that *Faustina* Junior, *Marcus's* Wife, who is sayd to have governed all within doors, was unwilling *Lucius* should rise too high, till she had secured his Marriage with her Daughter *Lucilla*, which was immediately contracted upon his being assumed to the Empire by his Brother *Marcus*.

A.C.

161.

§. 3. This Assumption was a new thing in the *Roman* State: For he was invested with full Power, equall with *Marcus* in Title and Dignity. Several Emperors had taken Partners before, to whom they had given the *Tribunitial* Power within the City, and the *Proconsular* Power without; and who for that Reason took the Title of *Imperator* in their public Money's and Inscriptions; and yet those Men onely had the Title of *Cæsar*, and sometimes not that. *Tiberius* was invested with this *Tribunitial* and *Proconsular* Power, as inferior Colleague of the Empire, by *Augustus*, three Year's at least before his Death, as appear's by his Coyns still extant. After the *Julian* Family was extinct in *Nero*, *Cæsar* from the *Cognomen* of a Family came to be the Title of those whom the Emperors took into this in-

D. 3

ferior

A.C. 161. ferior Partnership, and of any other of their Children whom they designed to succeed them. *Titus* was the first of this sort of *Cæsars*. He was made Colleague with his Father in the Third Year of his Reign, upon his Triumph for the taking of *Jerusalem*; and upon that took the Title of *Augustus* sometimes in his Coyns, tho more usually that of A U G. F. or the *Son of Augustus*. The Distinction of the Titles *Caesar* and *Augustus*, as marks of an inferior Partnership, or an equal one in the Empire, tho begun, was not then perfectly settled. And therefore *Titus*, who was *Vespasian's* Colleague in the Empire, uses them promiscuously, (p) which was never done after *Trajan's* time. Herein therefore lay the Novelty of this Partnership, that *Marcus* and *Lucius* ( who now took the Surname *Verus* in complement to *Marcus's* Family ) were equal in Degree, when the Difference between the Titles *Caesar* and *Augustus* was fully settled; both calling themselves *Augusti* on their Coyns, and *Medals*, in their *Fasti*, their *Letters*, and their *Law's*. *Medals* were also coined in token of their *Concord*, of the *Providence of the Gods* in providing two such

Vid. Aristidem in  
Panegyri.  
Cyzicen.  
P 422, &c.  
Cap. in  
Vero. c. 4.

Vide Med-  
diobarb. in  
M. Ant. &  
L. Vero.





such Emperors, and of *the perpetual Hope* of the *Roman* People. In short, they differed in little but Seniority; as a Token of which, *Marcus* onely took the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, and as we may thence probably conclude, executed that Office by himself.

§. 4. This *L. Verus* was a Man in most things unlike his Brother *Marcus*; given to Luxury and Ease, averse to Labour, and to those Philosophical Austerity's which his Brother from his Childhood had inured himself to: His Excesses however never made him cruel; and he alway's payd the same Respect to his Brother, who had raised him to so great a Height, that an inferior Officer would to his General, from whom he was to take all his Orders. *Marcus* on the other hand still took care silently to redress his Miscarriages; seemed to dissemble the Knowledge of his Faults; and chose to send him abroad upon Forreign Expeditions, as much and as far as he could out of the way, that so Employment might take his Mind off his Debauchery's, and that he might keep up his Authority with the People, whilst he committed no Excesses in their sight.

Capit. in  
Vero.

A.C.

161.



Dion Cass  
li p. 71.

Capit. in  
Marco.  
cap. 8.

Ibid.

Ibid.

§. 5. Opportunity's were not long wanting, of setting *Lucius* upon Action. During *Antoninus's* Reign, the Empire was almost every where in quiet; and that excellent Prince, who never loved to put his People upon unnecessary Expences, lived all his Time in *Italy*, beloved and revered by his Subjects, and respected by all his Neighbours. Yet some Discontents had arisen on the *Parthian* side, which broke out as soon as *Pius* was dead. *Vologesus* King of *Parthia* begun with an inroad upon *Armenia*, where at *Elegeia* a Town in that Countrey, he assaulted the Roman Camp commanded by *Severianus*, routed the Army, and killed their General: From thence he marched into *Syria*, where having beaten *Atidius Cornelianus* the Governor, he struck a Terror into the whole *East*. Neither was he the onely Borderer that gave these new Empeors disturbance. The *Britains* were uneasy, and the *Catti* broke into *Germany* and *Rhætia* about the same time.

§. 6. It was resolved therefore to send *Calphurnius Agricola* into *Britain*, and *Aufidius Victorinus*, a particular Favorite of *Marcus's*, against the *Catti*. *Vologesus* being the most considerable Enemy,

Enemy, *Lucius* went against him himself, whilst *Marcus*, who was then but sickly, stayd at home, to provide for the whole, in Case any Exigency should arise; and to take care of the Civil Government of the Empire.

A. C.

161.



Dion lib.

71.

Capitolin.  
in Marco.

cap. 8.

§. 7. Assoon as they had bury'd their Father, whose Obsequy's were performed jointly by them both, with all the usual Solemnity's, and distributed the (q) customary Donative to the Soldiers, which also was done jointly by them both, that the Soldiers might know both Emperors were equally to be obey'd; the War against the *Persians* was proclaimed, and Coins were stamped by Order of the Senate, with *Victories* upon them for luck sake, and others with *Addresses to Fortune* to bring back their Emperor Victorious, who was then preparing to go upon this Expedition; which he did next Year, assoon as he could get all things ready.

Nummi apud Me-  
diob. ad  
A. C. 161.  
in M. Ant.  
& L. Vero.


§. 8. When *Verus* set out for *Persia*, *Marcus* went along with him as far as *Capua*, that the People should see he would do him all possible Honour. *Verus's* Debauchery's began early to break out; and therefore as a Curb upon him, *Marcus* sent along with him a numerous

A. C.

162.



Cap. in  
Marco.  
cap. 8.

A.C. 162.  merous Train of the wisest of the Senate, in some measure to keep him in awe. But all this signify'd little, his Excesses were so violent, that he fell sick of a Feaver at *Canusium*; whither, when *Marcus* heard of it, he went to him, and took care of him till he recovered.

Cap.in Ve-  
ro. c. 6.

S. 9. This, with the Losses which the *Romans* had sustained in *Armenia* and *Syria*, where the Lieutenants were killed, and the Legions cut off, which made *Armenia* revolt, and *Syria* be ready to rise upon the *Romans*, was enough to have rowzed *Verus*, and hasten'd him away into the *East*: Yet instead of that, he went slowly thro *Greece* and the *Lesser Asia*, dancing, and feasting, and revelling at *Corinth*, at *Athens*, and in every other City upon the Road, where he could meet with suitable Accommodation. When he arrived in *Syria*, he left the whole Burthen of the War to his Generals, spending the Summers mostly at *Daphne*, and the Winters at *Laodicea*, in all the Luxury that that effeminate Countrey could afford. Thus he spent some Years in the *East*, in which time his Generals made an End of the War, by reducing *Armenia*  
and

and *Mesopotamia*, and repelling *Vologesus*, and pursuing him to *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon*, which City's, with the Palaces of the King of *Persia*, they layd wast.

A. C.

162.



§. 10. In *Armenia*, *Statius Priscus* was his General. He ended that War in 164. by taking *Artaxata* the Capital City of the *Armenians*, and setting a King over them. For these things *Verus* assumed the Title of *Armeniacus*, and petitioned the Senate that they would confer it likewise upon his Brother *Marcus*. The *Persian* War was managed by *Avidius Cassius*, and *Marcus Verus*. *Avidius* was an admirable General, a Man of the old *Roman* Severity, who even in *Syria* and the *East* kept up the ancient Discipline, which was so strict in the Times of the Commonwealth. He got some Victory's against the *Parthians* in the Year 164, and the next Year compleated the War. Hereupon *Verus* took the Title of *Parthicus Maximus*.

A. C.

164.



A. C. 165.



Nummi  
apud Oc-  
conem. in  
L. Vero.

A. C. 164.



Capit. in  
Marco.  
cap. 9.

§. 11. Whilest the War in the *East* was hot, *Verus* consummated his Marriage (r) with *Lucilla*. She was too young before, for which Reason the Marriage was deferred thus long. *Mar-*

*cus*

A.C. 164. *cus* went along with her on her way, as far as *Brundisium*; where he committed her to the care of *Vetullenus Civica*, *Verus's* Uncle, who with her Aunt conducted her safe to *Verus*. *Marcus* designed at first to have gone with her all the way, and acquainted the Senate with his Intention: But when he found that the People murmured at the report of his going into *Syria*, as if he intended to make an End of the War himself, that *Verus* might not have the Honour of it, he resolved to obviate their Clamours, by accompanying her no farther than *Brundisium*. *Verus* on the other side was afraid that *Marcus* might become acquainted with his luxurious way of Living, if he should go into *Syria*, and so came as far as *Ephesus* to meet him; where he found *Lucilla*, and having celebrated the Nuptials there, he went back again into *Syria*.

§. 12. The tenderness which *Marcus* shew'd to his People upon this occasion, ought not to be forgotten. The Progresses of Princes are usually very burthensome, especially in Journey's taken upon such solemn occasions as this young Empresses; when every City upon

upon or near the Road, would think themselves obliged to pay her the utmost Honour, in respect to her Father and her Husband. *Marcus* therefore, to make this Progress easy to the Provinces writ to the Governors to forbid any Persons to meet her in State, but to suffer her to pass *Incognito*, 'till she should meet her Husband.

A.C.

164.



§. 13. The Life which *Verus* led in the *East*, was a good Reason for him to desire to keep out of *Marcus's* sight as much as he could. He would often spend whole Nights in gaming; and in imitation of *Caligula's* and *Nero's* Excesses, would ramble in the dark thro the Streets, frequenting infamous Houses, quarrelling with inferior Fellow's, and dissembling his Quality: So that sometimes he would come bruised home, and sometimes they would find him out.

Cap.in Ve-  
ro. cap 4.

He was passionately addicted to the Sports of the *Circus*; and favoured the *Green* Squadron so visibly, that the other side would abuse him for it in public, which he would take no notice of. He made a Golden Statue for a famous Horse belonging to the *Green*, which he carry'd about with him. He would give that Horse Raisins and Nuts

ibid. cap. 6.

in.

A.C. instead of Provender, and cover him  
 164 with Purple Horse-Clothes, and when  
 he dy'd, *Verus* bury'd him with great  
 Solemnity in the *Vatican*.

§. 14. These extravagant Folly's appear yet more so to us, who are unacquainted with the Custom's of those Ages. *Chariot-driving* was even in *Hom*er's time esteem'd as a great accomplishment in the principal Men of *Greece*. To win a Contest with a Chariot in the publick Solemnity's of that Countrey, was reputed equal to conquering their Enemy's in the Field. The Winners Names were registred by the *Grecians* in their publick Chronicles, Songs were made to their Praise, and their Accounts of Time were reckoned by the *Quadriennial* Returns of the Grand Games to *Jupiter*, constantly celebrated at *Olympia Pisa*.

§. 15. The *Greeks* being the great Masters of Arts and Luxury of all sorts to the *Romans*, these public Contests of driving Chariots grew very fashionable amongst them. The *Circus Maximus* was the Place where these Races were perform'd; and on these occasions, People of all Ranks, from the Emperors down to the meanest Citizens, were



were Spectators. To add Life to the Games, the Chariot-Drivers took distinct Colours, *Green*, and *Blue*, and Factions were quickly formed in favour of both. *Marcus* takes notice with Thankfulness in his *Meditations*, that his Tutor early taught him to take neyther side. Men of Sobriety and strictness of Life, tho they connived at these Things to divert the Populace, yet were alway's ashamed to be thought concerned in such Party's: Whilest those Princes that addicted themselves to Pleasure and Luxury, as *Verus* wholly did, would be factiously fond of one side, as the Fancy took them, thereby probably to ingratiate themselves with the Body of the People of *Rome*. For the *Romans* still pleas'd themselves with the Notion of their being Lords of the World, and as such being carested by their Princes; which Notion all the Emperors, even the most profligate, encouraged by diverting them with these kinds of Amusements.

§. 16. Whilest *Verus* was thus spending his Time in the *East*, his Generals made an End of the War: This obliged him to return into *Italy* fore against his Will: For tho the *Syrians* laughed

A.C.

164.

lib. i. § 5.

A.C.

166.

Cap in Ve-  
ro. cap. 7.

at

**A.C.** at him as more effeminate than them-  
**166.** selves, yet their Way of Living agree'd  
 better with him than *Italy* and his Bro-  
 ther *Marcus*. However, when he had  
 set the conquer'd Provinces of the *East*  
 in Order, by giving Kings to some,  
 and placing Governors over the rest,  
 home he came, with a Train of *Actors*,  
*Musicians*, and *Buffoons*, as if he in-  
 tended to triumph over the Stage, ra-  
 ther than the *Parthians*.

Idem ibid.  
 cap. 8.

**A.C.** §. 17. Upon his Return he triumph-  
**167.** ed with great Solemnity, and desired  
 that *Marcus* might triumph with him;  
 which he did. This Triumph, which was  
 in the Year 166, or 167, was very magni-  
 ficent; and *Lucius's* Moderation was ex-  
 tremely applauded, that he would ac-  
 cept of no Honours nor Titles, but  
 what his Brother *Marcus*, who stay'd  
 at home all the while, shared with him.  
 Yet tho at his Brothers Request *Marcus*  
 took the Titles of *Armeniacus* and *Par-*  
*thicus*, he layd them down when *Verus*  
 was dead, contenting himself with the  
 Titles of *Germanicus* and *Sarmaticus*,  
 which were acquired wholly by his  
 own Merit.

Cap. in Ve-  
 ro. cap. 8.

Idem in  
 Marco.  
 cap. 12.

§. 18. The Peace which was pro-  
 claymed upon the Triumph, and ac-  
 cordingly

cordingly stamped upon their Coyn's, did not last long. The *Marcomanni*, a People upon the Confines of *Moravia* and *Austria*, who had of a good while threatned to break in upon the Empire, did now make a terrible Irruption. These being a hardy People, accustom'd from their Infancy to Hunger and Cold, were alway's dreadful Enemy's to the *Romans*, who could not bear the Fatigues which they playd with. Nothing was got from them but Blow's : When routed, they retired back : When victorious, the Spoil of the wealthy Provinces was theirs. This made them still more formidable, so that *Marcus* resolved to go against them himself.

A. C.

166.

Apud Medio-  
barb.

ad A. C.

166.

Cap. in

Marco.

cap. 13.

§. 19. A Pestilence which then raged at *Rome*, made this War appear yet more dreadful. It was brought out of the *East* by *Verus's* Soldiers, (s) who pretended to catch it by opening a Gold Chest in the Temple of *Apollo* at *Seleucia*, which sent forth Pestilential Fumes, that infected all the *East*. The Truth is, those Countrey's are never free from that Distemper; so that it was no wonder that the *Italians*, who observed no *Quarantain's* in those day's,

Cap. in

Marco. c.

13. & in

Vero. c. 8.

& Ammi-

an Mar-

cellin.

lib. 23.

E

should

A.C. 167. should be infected by a sickly Army, which had been so long in *Asia*.

Capit. in Marco. c. p. 13. §. 20. Sickness and Dread together made the Preparations for this War very formal. The old Superstitious Rites paid to their Gods were all repeated: Banquets were set before the Images of the Gods in their Temples for seven Day's together: Solemn Processions were made thro the Town, and even the Rites of *Isis* were renewed, which had been forbidden ever since the Time of *Augustus*. At last both Emperors went together; and in the Year 168 I find Medals stamped to Fortune, to pray for their Return; which certainly shew's that they went then upon this Expedition. *Verus* would willingly have stayd behind, but *Marcus* was fixt upon taking him along with him, and therefore got the Senate to petition them both to go; as if both Emperors would but just suffice to manage so dangerous a War.

A.C. 168.

Capit. in Marco. c. p. 13.

§. 21. These *Germans* had been troublesome before; but till the *Parthic* War was quite ended, *Marcus* would not stir out of *Italy*. They had ravaged the Countrey pretty near it, having crost the *Danube*, which struck a Ter-

a Terror into the *Italians*. But *Pertinax*, who was afterwards Emperor, and *Claudius Pompeianus*, who marry'd *Lu- cilla* after *Verns's* Death, Generals in whom *Marcus* could thoroughly con- fide, opposed them, and in a set Bat- tle quite routed them; upon which they were in some measure quiet for a little time. (*t*)


*A.C.*

168.

*Dion. Caf-  
sius. lib. 71.  
p. 802.*

§. 22. But now both the Emperors went in Person against these People. At *Aquileia* they met them, who were en- camp'd not far off. It was not long be- fore they had a Battle; their way of makeing War requiring these Barbari- ans to come to Action as soon as they met. The Battle was sharp, and the *Romans* lost part of their Army, which was commanded by *Furius Victorinus*, Captain of the Guards; but at last they got the Victory, and put their Ad- versaries totally to flight. This abso- lutely broke their Measures; the *Qua- di* were for making Peace, and having lost their King, they desired the Em- perors to confirm a new One; decla- ring that they would not ratify his E- lection 'till he was allow'd by the *Ro- man* Emperors. They were readily re- ceived, because their Submission weak-

*Capit. in  
Marco.  
cap 14.*

A.C. 169.  en'd the *Marcomanni*, who lay nearer the *Ister*, and consequently were a greater grievance to the *Roman* Frontiers. Accordingly they released 13000 of their Prisoners presently, promising to restore the rest in a short time, and delivered up the Deserters that had gone over to their Camp. They desired a Free Trade, but that *Marcus* was not willing to grant, because it might be a means to give the *Marcomanni* opportunity to fall upon the *Romans* at unawares.

Dio.

§. 23. After this defeat, those that did not submit went home again as fast as they could. *Lucius*, who sighed after the Pleasures of *Italy*, was for letting them alone, being satisfy'd with the Submissions of those who were come in already : But *Marcus* was for pushing on his Blow ; telling him, That this fear of the Barbarians was but pretended, and that they retreated onely to come on again the stronger, when they should find an opportunity. Accordingly they cross't the *Alpes*, settling every thing as they went, that was necessary for the Security of *Illyricum* and *Italy*. Winter coming on, they returned to *Aquileia*, where the Plague which was

Capit. in  
Marco.  
cap. 14.  
Eutropius.



was never throughly extinct since *Verus's* Soldiers brought it first out of the *East*, obliged them to remove to *Rome*, that was then clear: But as they were upon the Road, *Verus* died of an Apoplexy, as he was sitting with his Brother in his Chariot, between *Concordia* and *Altinum*, in the latter End of the Year 169, in the IX<sup>h</sup> Year of his Reign, and the 38<sup>th</sup> Year of his Age; after he and *Marcus* had been the Sixth time proclaim'd Emperors for their *German* Victory.

§. 23. This suddain Death of *Verus*, with the Dissimilitude of Manners between him and his Brother *Marcus*, gave occasion to various Rumors about his Death. It is certain that his continual Excesses were extreamly uneasy to this Excellent Prince, who dissembled them as well as he could. Upon his return from the *East*, *Verus* grew more open in his Debauches than formerly; and whatsoever Respect he payd to *Marcus* in other matters, in these things he was ungovernable. He built a *Villa* upon the *Clodian Way*, where he and his Companions would be frequently revelling Night and Day for a long time together. Once he invited *Marcus* thi-

Capit. in.  
Vero. c. 3.

Ibidem.

A.C.

169.



Ibid. c. 5.

ther to a famous Entertainment, who went and stay'd with him five day's, practising his usual abstemiousness of Living; hoping by that silent Reproof to reclaim this loose Emperor. These Frolic's of *Verus* were very chargeable to the Public: At one time he is sayd to have spent Six Millions of *Sesterces* (*u*); which *Marcus*, who was alway's tender of laying out the public Money, *sighed at*, when he heard of it, *lamenting the public Fate*.

§. 25. Tho all these things did exceedingly grieve *Marcus*, yet one cannot suspect him to have been capable of doing so horrible a thing, as the making use of indirect means to be rid of his Brother *Verus*. Some Actions no Man can commit, whilst he has any sense of Humanity left. Assassinations and Poysonings come under this Head. Should a small part of those Story's which are told of *Faustina* be true, they would afford greater Instances of *Marcus's* Patience, than any Irregularity's of his Brother *Verus*. Should she have suffered by common Fame, as there is Reason to think she has, yet his Daughter *Lucilla* is excused by none, and *Marcus* bore with her, and took care





care of her after her Husband was dead. And nothing occurs more frequently in *Marcus's Meditations*, than his Advices to every Man to look after his own Conduct first; and when that is done, not to shew too great a Concern, when we cannot correct the Vices of other Men.

§. 26. Those therefore that acquit *Marcus* of his Brother *Verus's* death; lay it upon his Wife *Lucilla*: She was jealous, some say, of her own Mother; others, more likely, of his Sister *Fabia*, with whom *Verus* lived with a very criminal Familiarity for a great while. This was what *Lucilla* could not bear, and therefore is sayd to have poyson'd him out of the way. Be this as it will, his Death was a Blessing to the *Roman* Empire, which wanted a Man of *Marcus's* Vigilance and Virtues to support it. During the whole Remainder of his Reign, it was almost continually molested with those barbarous Nations; which often crossing the *Danube* in *Hungary* and *Austria* in incredible Numbers, would under any other Emperor than *Marcus*, have put the Empire into almost insuperable Distresses.

Id. in Ver-  
ro. c. 10.

## C H A P. IV.

*Of the Actions of Marcus, from the Death of L. Verus, to the Rebellion of Avidius Cassius.*

**S. 1.** **T**HE Death of *Verus* obliged *Marcus* to hasten back to *Rome* : Where as soon as he was arrived, he order'd his Brother's Funeral with all the Magnificence which was due to his Character. Whatsoever Exceptions the Senate might take to *Verus*, they had none to *Marcus* ; and so all was granted to *Verus's* Honor, which was desired. Accordingly he was consecrated, and divine Honors were payd him, the same which before had been payd to *Pius*. His nearest Relations were all provided for by *Marcus* with Noble Pensions. His Favorite Freed-Men who had encouraged him, and joined with him in his Excesses, were all dismiss'd the Court, upon pretences of honourable Employments, except *Eclectus* ; who in requital of *Marcus's* Kindness, many Years after assassinated his Son *Commodus*.

**S. 2.**

A. C.  
170.



Capit. in  
Marco.  
c. 15.

Id. in Ve-  
ro. c. 9.

§. 2. After *Verus's* death, the Government was much steadier than it had been formerly : Every thing now looked one way ; and what little respite *Marcus* had at home, was all spent in redressing those Abuses, and removing those Corruptions which so licentious a Court as *Verus's* had introduced : There was not indeed very much to do, because the rigid Virtue of *Marcus*, which no ill Example could ever corrupt, kept things in tolerable Order before ; and that too the more easily, because *Verus* having an Aversion to Business, left the whole Administration to his Brother.

A.C.

170.



§. 3. Before her Year of Mourning was out, *Marcus* married his Daughter *Lucilla*, *Verus's* Widow, to *Claudius Pompeianus*, an Old Man, of no great Family, originally of *Antioch*, the Son of a Knight of *Rome*. This Match *Lucilla* did by no means approve of ; but *Marcus*, who knew his Daughter best, was resolved to dispose of her to a grave, sober Man, who could better govern her, than one that was younger. *Pompeianus's* Fidelity, and Capacity for Business, had been already shewn in the *German War* ; where he, and *Pertinax*, who

Id. in Mar-  
co. c. 20.

A.C. 170. who afterwards was Emperor, had gotten great Advantages over the barbarous Nations that inhabited those Parts. This Inequality in the Match did not lessen *Lucilla's* Character, who kept the Title of *Augusta*, which she had upon her Marriage to *Verus*: And *Marcus* made her new Husband *Pompeianus* twice Consul, to do him the greater Honour. (x)

Ibidem.

Ib. c. 21.

§. 4. This Year *Marcus* lost a young Son *Verus Cæsar*, a Child of Seven Years of Age, at his *Villa* at *Præneste*; of a Wen under his Ear, which upon its being cut off killed him. To shew his Philosophy, *Marcus* mourned for young *Verissimus* (as *Herodian* calls him) but five day's; and even during that Interval, if desired, he attended to Public Business. The Child happen'd to die during the Festivals to *Jupiter*, so he order'd they should not be put off; onely commanded Statuës to be erected to his Memory; and his Image of Gold (y) to be carried about in the *Pomp* of the *Circenses*; and his Name to be inserted in the *Carmen Saliare*.

A.C.

171?

§. 5. To this Year (z) also, or perhaps the next, the Insurrection of a Knot

Knot of *Aegyptian Banditti*, who were called *Bucoli*, or *Cow-Keepers*, ought, I think, to be referred. These Rogues, headed by one *Isidore*, a bold daring Fellow, went in Womens Clothes, as the Wives of these *Cow-Keepers*, to the *Roman* Officer then residing in *Aegypt*, under pretence of paying him some Duty which he was appointed to collect. The Officer suspecting nothing, was killed as he was going to them: A Companion of his was also cut in pieces, and sacrificed by these Villains, who swore to one another upon his Entrails, and afterwards eat them up. *Isidore* their Leader was a fit Man for such a Design, who therefore immediately getting a great number of resolute *Aegyptians* together, fell upon the *Romans* that were in the Country; and cut most of them off. This Rising grew so terrible, that *Cassius* was sent for out of *Syria* to suppress it; who came just as the Rebels were going to seize upon *Alexandria*, and so preserved it. They were too numerous and too desperate to be set upon openly; so that *Cassius* was obliged to wait his opportunity, which by dividing them among themselves, he soon found; for  
thus

A.C.

171.

Dio. l. 71.

p. 803.

C. D.

A. C. thus by dividing them he quickly weak-  
 171. ned them, and then it was no difficult  
 ~~~~~ matter to suppress them.

Capit. in
 MARCO.
 C. 22.

§. 6. But these were inconsiderable things, in comparison of the second *German War*, which broke out within a Year after *Verus's* Death. The Victories obtained against the *Marcomans* and *Quadi* already, had onely enraged the other Barbarous Nations that lived thereabouts; so that now all the Inhabitants of the Borders, from the *Rhine* to the *Euxine* Sea, made an Irruption in a joint Body into the Empire. This was a sore Affliction to *Marcus*, who had neither Men nor Money sufficient for such a War. The former Expeditions had so harassed the Troops and Legions upon the *Danube*, that they needed great Recruits. The Plague, which was not yet quite extinct in *Italy*, had likewise consumed most of those Legions which brought it with them out of the *East*. The Public Stock was well near exhausted by *Verus's* Prodigality, and by the former *German Wars*, since nothing was to be gotten in them but Blow's, tho the *Romans* were never so victorious. These things therefore all at one time lay very heavily upon
 Mar-

Marcus ; who yet found way's happily to rid himself of all these difficulties.

A.C.

171.

§. 7. He filled his Legions by arming of *Slaves* and *Gladiators*, whom he found to be strong and fit for Service. This, according to the *Roman* Notions, was very dishonourable, and never to be done but in cases of extreme necessity. And therefore from the time of the second *Punic* War, when the *Romans* fought for Life, not Glory, with *Hannibal*, the terriblest Enemy they ever had, this had never been practised till now. By their Constitutions none could be Legionary Soldiers, but Citizens of *Rome* : This kept up the Reputation of their Standing Forces, whilst every private Soldier pleased himself, that the Glory of his Country, in which he had an Interest, was the thing he fought for.



Ibid. c. 21.

§. 8. But now again Necessity taught them another Lesson : They were to fight against such sort of People as those who under the Name of *Cimbri* had once taken *Rome* itself, and threatned it several times afterwards ; and who, being weary of their barren Habitations, were resolved to try what they could get in the *Roman* Territories.

To

A.C.

171.



To distinguish them therefore, and to please them likewise, *Marcus* called all these *Slaves* whom he now armed, *Voluntiers*; the *Gladiators* he called *Obsequentes*. He lifted also some *Banditti* of *Dalmatia* and *Dardania*, who were desirous to take this occasion of obtaining an honorable Pardon for their former Villany's: Thus he got together a very powerful Army. He found means also to divide the *Germans* amongst themselves, which made his work much the easier.

Dio. 1. 71.
p. 803. A.

§. 9. Still Money was wanting to subsist his Soldiers. This to *Marcus* was a greater difficulty than the other. He was alway's very tender of the public Money, and very unwilling to oppress the People: If he was munificent on customary occasions, yet he was never profuse. Formerly some Legions having gotten a remarkable Victory over a Party of *Germans*, desired a Reward for it; whom, tho they seemed to desire nothing but what was reasonable, *Marcus* refused to gratify: *Whatsoever*, say's he, *you receive above your due, is the Blood of your Relations and Friends: You fight to preserve them, do not oppress those whom you pretend to protect.* Yet he

he that would not give too great Rewards to Men for doing their Duty, was equally careful they should have their just Right. To secure which, since the Treasury was empty, and he was resolved to lay no extraordinary Tax upon the Provinces on this occasion, he took the following Method.

§. 10. The former Emperors, *Hadrian* especially, had layd up great store of Jewels, and other Curiosities of great Value. The Plate also, and Furniture of all the Imperial Houses and Villa's, with the Empresses Wardrobe and Closet, were, as it will easily be imagined, extremely rich. Of the valuablest of these things, *Marcus* made a public Sale, which lasted for two Month's together; and with the Money which was thus brought in, he carried on the War without much Difficulty. To make this Sale the easier, *Marcus* publish'd an Edict, That Senators and Persons of Quality might use the same Furniture, and make the same Entertainments with the Emperors themselves, which had been before forbid. Thus those could find Money for their Vanity, who would perhaps have thought themselves aggrieved, if they

A.C.

171.

Capit. in
Marco. c.
17. & 21.
& ab eo
Aur. Vi-
tor in E-
pitoma.

A.C.

171.



they had been compelled to have brought in the same Sums for the defence of the Public. Afterwards, when the Necessity was over, *Marcus* published a Proclamation, That he would take back again, at the Price they bought them, what Jewels or Plate he had sold before; to let the Buyers understand he had onely pawned the public dead Treasure in a Time of Necessity, which now he was desirous to redeem: But yet he forced no Body; and tho he was pleased when any thing was returned, he was not uneasy to those who kept what they had bought.

§. 11. This was the longest and the severest War that ever *M. Antoninus* was engaged in. It took him up several Years before he brought it to a tolerable Issue. He had to do with People who could fight in Winter upon Ice, as readily as in Summer in the Field. This way of fighting, the *Romans* were unacquainted with, as once *Marcus* had like to have found to his cost. The *Fazyges*, a People upon the *Danube*, whom he had already overcome in an Engagement by Land, watched their opportunity in the Winter, and came up the River when it was frozen, to fall

Dio 1. 71.
p. 804. D.

fall upon the *Romans* who lay near it. Their way of fighting was to make a suddain onser, and then retreat immediately, they and their Horses being used to run upon the Ice, whilst the *Romans* were, as they thought, wholly unable to follow them. Once therefore finding the Enemy disposed to pursue them, they made a stand, believing that the *Romans* could not keep their feet; and then some flanked them, some fell upon the Rear, and some fronted them directly. The *Romans*, that they might not slip, threw down their Shields upon the Ice, and trod upon them with one foot, that they might stand the faster, and then grappled with their Enemy's directly, some catching their Bridles, some their Shields, some their Poles, and so drew them down. For when they were entangled, these *Barbarians* could not stand; and in falling, the *Romans*, who were much the stronger, got them undermost, and so dispatched them. The *Fazyges*, not used to this way of fighting, retreated, and being nimbler, got away from the *Romans* as fast as they could.

A. G.

171,

Ec.



§. 12. This was not the onely considerable Battle which was fought during

F

this

A.C. 171, &c.
 ~~~~~  
 Eutropius. this War, in which *Marcus* kept his Head-Quarters at *Carnuntum* for three Years together. It is probable there were distinct Engagements every Year, for his Coyns mention Victories over the *Germans* and *Sarmatians*, all those Year's in which *Marcus* was engaged in this War : And under those two general Names of *Germans* and *Sarmatians*, all those Barbarous People were comprehended with whom *Marcus* made War, such as the *Quadi*, *Marcomans*, *Fazyges*, *Bastarnæ*, *Hermunduri*, and the rest. With some or other of these People, *Marcus* had frequent Engagements, being resolved if he could, quite to tire them, and so prevent their continual Irruptions into the Empire. We have Medals in memory of his Victories in the Years 172, 173, 174, successively ; all which Years he was in *Pannonia*, carrying on the War upon the Banks of the *Danube*, or amongst the *Quadi* near the River *Granna*, (a) which runs into the *Danube* in Upper Hungary.

Apud Mediosbarb.

A.C. 174.  
 ~~~~~

§. 13. But these were inconsiderable Victories in comparison of that which he obtained over the *Quadi* in the Year 174. These People had drawn in the
Romans

Romans ere they were aware of it, into a Place where they could not possibly come at any Water, in the Summer-time, when the Countrey was burnt up for want of Rain. The *Romans* stuck close to one another, not questioning but in a little time they should break the Enemies Ranks, as they had formerly done. But of a suddain they found the *Quadi* retreating in haſt without being beaten, and themſelves blocked in on every ſide, ſo that they could not poſſibly get back to their Camp: This opened their Eyes, and ſhew'd them what a miſerable Condition they were in; thirſty and ſcorched, in their Armor continually pelted by their Enemy's, who fell upon them afreſh; as ſoon as they found them ſhrink with wearyneſs and thirſt. Whileſt they were thus pining, *Marcus* liſt up his Hands to Heaven for Relief, to that God whom he had hitherto ignorantly worſhippt. He deſired Life from the Giver of Life, for himſelf and his Army, becauſe with that Hand which he then held up to Heaven, he had never taken Life away from any Man; and his Prayers were graciously heard; for immediately there came down a mighty

A. C.

174.

Dio lib.

71.

Themisti-
us Orat.

xv. p. 191.

Edit. Hat-
dun.

A.C. Shower, which refreshed his Army.
 174. The Soldiers parch'd with Drowth,
 ~~~~~ looking up towards Heaven, took in  
 the Rain with open Mouths: Some  
 held up their Helmets, and some their  
 Shields to receive it as it fell; and it  
 came in a quantity large enough to  
 quench their own and their Horses  
 Thirst. The Enemy in the mean time  
 terrified with Lightning and Hail, was  
 thereby quite disheartned, whilst the  
*Romans* felt nothing but Rain, which  
 cooled and cherisht them. This advan-  
 tage from Heaven, which visibly shew'd  
 itself on *Marcus's* side, soon turned the  
 Scale, his Army was presently victori-  
 ous, and himself saluted by the Army  
 by the Title of the Seventh time *Em-*  
*peror*; and *Faustina* was called *Mother*  
*of the Camps*.

§. 14. This Story, as wonderful as  
 it may seem, is recorded by Christian  
 and Pagan Writers; who all unani-  
 mously agree in ascribing this Delive-  
 rance to the Power of God. Some of  
 these Writers lived almost in the same  
 Age; all of them before Learning was  
 sunk; so that we ought not to dispute  
 their Authority. (b) The Account I  
 have now given of it, is literally taken  
 out

out of *Dion Cassius*, a Heathen Historian, who ascribes it to some Divine Power which assisted *Marcus* at that Time. He confesses indeed that some attributed this salutary Storm to the Enchantments of one *Arnuphis* an *Aegyptian* Magician; which Opinion his Abridger *Xiphilin* deservedly exposes, because *Marcus* was not onely never addicted to Magic, but say's of himself in his *Meditations*, That he learned of *Diogenes*, never to give Ear to such sort of Fooleries. Other Heathen Writers, particularly *Capitolinus*, *Themistius*, and *Clandian*, ascribe it to the Praiers of *Marcus* himself; and *Themistius* puts that Prayer into his mouth I mentioned above, *That he desired Life for himself and his Army, because he had never wrongfully taken away the Life of any Man.*

A.C.

174.

lib. I. §. 6.

§. 15. If no other Account were given of this Rain but this, I do not see why it should appear improbable. It is not beneath the Majesty of God to manifest his Power upon so extraordinary an Occasion, as the saving the Lives of so many Men praying to him for Relief, at the Intercession of so good a Man as *Marcus*; who was a Prince that had done already, and could do still so much

A.C.

174.



more towards the reforming Mankind. The Cause is every way worthy of God, and being therefore so well attested, ought not methinks to be called in Question by those that have a Love for Virtue. But there is another Reason given of this miraculous Deliverance no way's inconsistent with the former, and which has Vouchers equally good: This is, that the Praiers of the Christians who were then in the Army, procured this Deliverance; and that out of Gratitude for it, *Marcus* immediately issued out Letters that they should no where be molested, but that their Accusers should suffer the same Punishments which were due to them by the former Law's. *Tertullian* appeals to these Letters within a few Years after, in a solemn Apology in behalf of Christianity; which he durst not have done, had not the thing been past dispute. The Additions which have been made to this Story in After-Ages, as they want sufficient Authority to recommend themselves to our belief, so they do no prejudice to the History itself.

§. 16. By such a constant Series of Victory's, in a few Years *Marcus* brought these



these barbarous People to an entire submission. The *Quadi* having dealt treacherously with *Marcus* before, by not performing their Articles in restoring the Prisoners whom they agree'd to send back, either sending onely the aged, weak, and decrepit, who could neither sell for much, nor do them much service, if they kept them, or else detaining the Relations of those they sent as Hostages, that they might desert upon the first opportunity, and also by breaking the Peace by open Inroads into the Empire, as soon as they could be joined by the Neighbours, had so exceedingly provoked him, that he was resolved to punish them effectually. Accordingly, he planted 20000 Men in several Garrisons in the Heart of their Country, who put them under Military Contributions, which brought them very low. And when they would have left their old Habitations to retire to Places of greater Security, the Emperor stopt up all the Passages, either with Soldiers of his own, or by transplanting other Nations, with whom they were alway's at War, next to them. By these means he effectually humbled them.

A. C.

174.

Dio l. 71.  
p. 808.  
B. C.Ibid. p.  
810. A. B.

A.C.

174.



Dio. 171.

p. 803. E.

Ibid. D.

Capit. in

Marco.

cap. 24.

§. 17. At last the *Fazyges*, who were as faithless a People as the *Quadi*, sued earnestly for a Peace, almost upon any terms. Formerly they put *Banadaspus* their King into Chains, because he moved for a Peace with the *Romans* : But *Marcus's* Successes having taught them a different Lesson, they sent *Zanticus* another of their Kings to the Emperor, to try what Conditions he could get. *Marcus* had already received the Submissions of the *Marcomanni*, who performing the Conditions he imposed upon them, to the utmost of their Power, had Lands assigned them, at a distance from the *Danube*, to which they were obliged to come no nearer than 300 Furlongs, (c) and so they were quiet. But these having been greater Offenders, were more severely dealt with. The Emperor designed at first entirely to have subdued them, and have reduced all those Countries into formal Provinces, if *Cassius's* Rebellion, which was already broken out, had not obliged him to make Peace as soon as he could. *Marcus* therefore came to Terms with those People, which tho his Circumstances compelled him to, yet were very honourable. He obliged them

them to send back 100000 Prisoners ; to assist him with 8000 Horse, of whom he sent 5500 into *Britain*; and to accept of an Assignment of Lands at a distance from the *Danube*, double to that which he had before assigned to the *Marcomanni*. After he had thus settled the Empire on this side, he went back into *Italy*, in order to go into the *East*, in pursuit of *Avidius Cassius*.

A.C.

174.

Dio 1, 71.

p 809.

A. B.

## CHAP. V.

*Of the Rebellion and Death of Avidius Cassius.*

S.I. **A**VIDIUS CASSIUS was descended by the Mothers side, as some Authors assert, from that *L. Cassius* who was one of those that killed *Julius Cæsar* in the Senate-House. His Father *Avidius Severus*, by Birth a *Syrian*, was a Man of no Family, who yet from a private Centurion, had by his Merit, under Emperors who knew how to reward it, risen to the highest Offices in the Commonwealth. *Dio*, who calls him *Heliodorus*, (*d*) says, that

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Vulcat.

Gallican.

in Avidio.

Cassio.c.1.

L. 71.

A.C. 175.  that from teaching Rhetoric he came at last to be Governor of *Aegypt*, which was one of the most honourable Posts for Trust and Credit in the *Roman Empire*. He seems to have been a very wise Man ; and as an Instance of it, he had a great Interest with *Antoninus Pius*.

Vol. Gall. c. 3. §. 2. *Cassius* was a Man who could accommodate himself to all Times and all Humors, to carry on his own Designs ; sometimes he would be sharp and cruel ; sometimes again he would be mild and gentle : Sometimes Religious ; then again he would despise all the Forms of their Public Worship : Sometimes he would drink hard, and otherwhiles be very abstemious : Luxurious, and yet endure Fatigues : Exactly answering the Character which the Ancients gave of *Catiline*, to whom sometimes he would compare himself.

Mid. c. 5. §. 3. With these Dispositions he apply'd himself to a Military Life, in which he affected the ancient Severity of Discipline, which was so eminent in the Times of the Republic. He always kept his Soldiers strictly to their Duty : Broke them of their warm Bathes, luxurious Treats, and those Soft-

Softnesses which they had contracted in their Easy Quarters ; view'd his Mens Arms constantly once a Week ; exercised them as often ; kept them to their old Camp Diet, and still employ'd them in Peace as well as War. But to bring his Men to this, he would stick at no Acts of Barbarity. He would crucify a Soldier for taking a little considerable thing by force from the Country People. He would cut off the Hands and Legs of Desertors ; often saying, that a miserable Criminal is a more terrible Example than an executed One. Once when he served upon the *Danube* in *Pius's* time, some Auxiliary's in his Army, headed by their Centurions, fell upon a Body of the *Sarmatians* of 3000 Men, and routed them, bringing back abundance of Booty ; and when these Centurions expected to have been rewarded for dispersing so strong a Party of the Enemy, whilst the Superior Officers who should have commanded them, were either negligent or afraid, he crucify'd every Man of them for fighting without Orders ; alledging that they might have fallen into an Ambuscade, and so have brought a Disgrace upon the

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Ibid. c. 6.

Ibid. c. 4.

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the *Roman* Arms. And when this caused a Mutiny among the Soldiers, he went out to them, with nothing on but his Field-Coat, and bid them *strike him if they durst, that they might shew themselves to be Villains, as well as Men that had lost all Military Discipline.* The Resolution which he shew'd upon this Occasion stopt the Mutiny, and struck such a Terror into the Enemy's, that they immediately sued for Peace, being as much afraid of such a General, as his own Soldiers were.

§. 4. Tho there was much Brutality in these Actions, yet the times which *Cassius* fell into, made such Severity's in some measure excusable, and him necessary. The *Parthian* War lay very heavy upon *Marcus* and *Verus* at their first coming to the Empire. The *Syrian* Army was totally corrupted: No Man was esteemed able to restore them but *Avidius Cassius*: Him therefore *Marcus* sent into his own Countrey, to bring those undisciplined Legions once more into Order, which had so long been neglected; and by the Methods which he used, he soon compass'd it. He cashier'd every Soldier that was seen in *Daphne*. He turned all the old Instruments

ments of Luxury out of the Camp, and made his Men content themselves with their ancient Food, Bacon, dry Bread, and Vinegar, which was the settled Allowance to the *Roman* Soldiers when they were in the Field. By such sort of Methods as these he soon brought the *Eastern* Legions into exact Order, and then marched with them into *Parthia*, where in a few Years that great War was concluded very much to the *Romans* Honour.

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Ibid. c. 6.


§. 5. *Cassius* having met with such a long Series of good Fortune, began now to think of setting up for himself. *Marcus* was busied upon the *Danube* in a long and toilsome War with the *Quadi*, the *Fazyges*, and other barbarous Nations thereabouts. *Commodus* was a Child, and of small Hopes. *Cassius* had a plausible Plea of restoring the Public Liberty, having as a Descendant of old *L. Cassius*, a sort of hereditary Hatred to Monarchy; which, to cover his own Ambition, he pretended could not be destroy'd, but by a new Emperor who should pull down the old one.

Vul. Gall.  
initio.

§. 6. But tho his Designs were not ripe enough for Execution till now, *Cassius* seem's to have given just Cause  
of

A.C. of Suspicion long before. *Verus*, when  
 175. he was, in the *East*, bid *Marcus* beware  
 of him. ‘*Cassius*, say’s he in a *Letter*  
 which he sent out of the *East* to *Marcus*,  
 Id. in *Cas.* ‘has certainly a Design upon the Em-  
 fio. c. 1. pire: ’Tis not my sense alone, your  
 Father had such Information given  
 him long agoe. He dislikes whatso-  
 ever we do; is intent upon amassing  
 Wealth; laugh’s at your Learning;  
 calls you an old Woman doting upon  
 her Philosophy, and me a luxurious  
 harebrain’d Fellow. I have no preju-  
 dice against the Man, but I desire  
 you would consult your own and your  
 Childrens good, when such a Man  
 who is so popular, and so much re-  
 spected, is at the Head of your Ar-  
 mies.’ But this made no Impression  
 upon *Marcus*: He was too good him-  
 self to mistrust those he had been Kind  
 to; and trusted in that Providence to  
 protect him, which he did so truly ve-  
 nerate, and whose Law’s he had fol-  
 low’d with so much strictness. ‘Your  
 Ibid. c. 2. Letter, say’s he in his Answer to his  
 Brother *Verus*, discovers a sollicitude  
 unbecoming a Prince, and much more  
 unbecoming our Times: If Providence  
 designs *Cassius* the Empire, he will  
 have



‘ have it whether we will or no. For *A.C.*  
 ‘ as your Great-Grand-Father used to *175.*  
 ‘ say, *No Man ever killed his Successor.*   
 ‘ If it does not, he will ruine himself,  
 ‘ without our being cruel to him. Be-  
 ‘ sides, how can we convict him, whom  
 ‘ none accuses, and whom as you say,  
 ‘ the Soldiers love. In Cases of Trea-  
 ‘ son against the Prince, all Men are  
 ‘ thought to be unjustly used, who fall,  
 ‘ even when the Fact is proved. You  
 ‘ know what your Grand-Father *Ha-*  
 ‘ *drian* used to say, *No Plot is believed*  
 ‘ *till the Prince is killed.* In short, let  
 ‘ *Cassius* go on in his own Way ; since  
 ‘ he is so good, so severe, so brave,  
 ‘ so necessary a General. As for my  
 ‘ securing my Children by his Death,  
 ‘ May they perish if *Cassius* deserves  
 ‘ more to be beloved than they, and if  
 ‘ he shall prove more useful to the  
 ‘ Common-Wealth than the Children  
 ‘ of *M. Antoninus.*

*S. 7.* But that was not *Cassius*’s time.  
*Verns* was then in the *East*, the Army  
 could not presently be corrupted, and  
 the other Generals, *Marcins Verns* and  
*Statius Priscus* were not to be wrought  
 upon to stir from their Duty. But after-  
 wards *Marcins Verns* being settled in  
*Cappa-*

A.C. 175. *Cappadocia* at a great distance from *Antioch*, *Verus* dead, and *Marcus* a long way off upon the *Danube*, he resolved not to delay his Resolution any longer. He begun as Rebels always do, with blackning the former Reign: *Marcus's* Lenity afforded him large Topic's of Invective. 'The Common-Wealth, say's he in a Letter to his Son-in-Law, 'is ruined by these oppressing and covetous Ministers. *Marcus*, honest Man, connives at Men whose Morals he detests, that he may deserve the Title of *Merciful*. The *Cassii*, the *Cato's* are dead, the ancient Discipline is lost, and which is worse, none looks out to see how we may retrieve it. *Marcus* spends his Time in disputing concerning the *Elements of Philosophy, the Soul, and Right and Wrong*, without minding the Common-Wealth. 'We want Swords and Gibbets to set things to rights. When Beggars immediately tumble into great Wealth, it is no wonder if the Public sinks: Nothing but a Resolution like mine can recover it, and the Glory of effecting this is reserved for me. I must imitate my great Name-fake, and once more establish the Common-Wealth.

Thus

Thus he poisoned all the *East*, and being secure of his Countreymen the *Antiochians*, who stuck very faithfully by him, he went towards *Rome*, hoping to surprize it before *Marcus* could get thither out of *Pannonia*, where he then lay.

A. C.


175.

§.8. As *Cassius* was going towards *Rome*, he gave out that *Marcus* was dead, and he shew'd a seeming Tendernefs in all his Declarations for *Marcus's* Memory. From what one may collect from *Dion Cassius* it seems to have been believed in the *East*, that *Faustina* called in *Cassius*: That she mistrusting her Son might not be able to support himself if *Marcus* should die, and fearing she might lose her Rank if a Stranger should seize upon the Empire, had underhand agree'd with *Cassius*, that he should declare himself Emperor as soon as he should hear that *Marcus* was dead; and that thereupon he rose upon a false Rumor, which was the more readily believed, because it was known that *Marcus* had been long indisposed. So that *Cassius* did not seem to set up for himself as an Usurper, but pretended to have the Designation of the *Pannonian* Legions to authorize what he did,

Lib. 71. p.  
810. E.

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whilest

A.C. 175.  whilest they, backed by *Faustina*, and serving under *Marcus*, who was among them in Person when he was reported to be dead, had a sort of a Plea to secure the Succession, if he should be taken off upon the suddain. But this Report of *Marcus's* Death proving groundless, *Cassius* was forc'd to go on for his own Security, and so seized upon all that part of the *Roman* Empire which lies beyond Mount *Taurus*, which quietly acknowledged him.

§. 9. This, I say, seems to have been the current Report over all the *East*, where *Cassius* had a very strong Party. It is very probable that *Faustina* has met with much hard measure from Posterity, in the Censures that have been past upon the other parts of her Life: But what Injury soever she has had in them, here she has been wronged without all dispute. *Marcus* was too much revered for any Man to raise a Party against him or his Family, without very plausible pretences: And these were the fairest *Cassius* could think of. But the Original Letters of *Faustina* to her Husband, preserved by *Vulcatius Gallicanus*, “ wherein she begs of him  
“ to pursue those Rebels with the ut-  
“ most

In Cassio.  
cap. 10

“ most Severity ; wherein she desires  
 “ that his Piety might first begin at  
 “ home, and consider the weak condi-  
 “ tion of his own Family ; wherein she  
 “ tells him that she had sent a Messen-  
 “ ger who could inform him of the re-  
 “ proachful things which *Cassius's* Wife  
 “ and Children sayd of him ; ” do suf-  
 ficiently clear her from this Imputati-  
 on : And the hearty grief which *Marcus*  
 shew'd next Year upon her Death ,  
 seems to acquit him likewise of any  
 suspicion of her Infidelity of that sort,  
 if not of any other.

§. 10. It was *Cassius's* own Ambition  
 that carried him on, and nothing else.  
 His Design had been long laid, and he  
 could not find an Opportunity to exe-  
 cute it before now. And when he had  
 one, as he thought, it did him little  
 good : For when he had *dreamed* that he  
 was an Emperor ( as *Dio* expresses it )  
 for three Months and six Day's, one  
*Antony* a Centurion in his own Army,  
 wounded him in the neck, one day as  
 he was on horseback, ere he was aware  
 of it. The Wound not being mortal,  
 his Horse carried him off, and he had  
 got away, if a Decurion had not fallen  
 upon him, and dispatched him. When

p. 813. A.

A.C.  
175.  
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he was dead, the Soldiers cut off his Head, and marched with it towards Marcus.

C H A P. VI.

Of Marcus's Actions from the Insurrection of Avidius Cassius, to his Death.

S.I. **T**HE new's of the rising of *Avidius Cassius*, which was in *April 175*, was quickly carried to *Marcus*, who was then in *Pannonia*, making an End of a War which he had now for above four Year's carried on with great Success against the barbarous Nations which inhabited thereabouts. He immediately sent for his Son *Commodus* from *Rome*, who was almost XIV Years of Age, and gave him the *Toga Virilis* about a Year earlier than ordinary, and designed him Consul for the Year 177, which was sooner than any Person had ever been Consul before. This he did to let the Empire see that he certainly designed *Commodus* for his Successor, thereby to cut off *Cassius's* pretensions, who

Lamprid.
in Com-
modo c. 2.
& Capir.
in Marco.
cap. 22.


who gave out that *Marcus* was dead, and that the *Pannonian* Legions had declared himself Successor. Upon occasion of that Solemnity *Marcus* gave a Congiary to the People, that they also might take the more notice of this designation. Then leaving the Remainers of the War to his Lieutenants, he marched away directly for *Italy*, to take shipping for the *East* at *Brundisium*. He did not take *Rome* in his way, that he might not be stopped, but was got as far as *Formiæ* in *Campania* onwards of his Journey, when *Cassius's* Head was brought him, with New's that the Provinces had of their own accord returned to their Duty. Indeed, to do them justice, they were not long in doing that, for *Marcus* was almost universally beloved in all the Provinces. The *Antiochians*, *Cassius's* Countreymen, were almost the onely People that stuck close to him; in others it was all compulsion and force. His own Army, we see, soon destroy'd him, and cut off all his principal Friends, and would have cut off many more, had not *Marcus* interpos'd.

A.C.

175.

Capit. ibidem.

§. 2. The putting so early a stop to this Rebellion, was welcome New's to

A.C. 175.  the Emperor, who dreaded nothing so much as a Civil War, not for himself, but for the miseries it must unavoidably have brought upon the Empire. He expressed this Concern very passionately to his Army upon the *Danube*, when he imparted to them the New's of *Cassius's* Revolt. *Marcus Verus* sent him the first New's of it out of *Cappadocia*: Upon the first notice, *Marcus* concealed his Intelligence, willing to have made a thorough End of the *German* War; but when the Report could no longer be stifled, he called his Soldiers together, and made a Speech to them to this effect.

Dio. p.
811.

§. 3. " I come not hither, Fellow-Soldiers, to fret or to complain:
 " For who dares fret against Providence, which governs the World according to its own Will? I might indeed justly complain, who am unfortunate without any fault of mine;
 " for what can be more grievous, than still to be removed from one War to another, which is now my Case?
 " How miserable a thing is it to be engaged in a Civil War? What a torment is it to think that there is no longer Faith amongst Men? That my best
 " Friend

" Friend has undermined me ; that I
 " am drawn against my Will to quar-
 " rel with a Man whom I have neither
 " injured nor offended ? What Virtue
 " will be safe, what Friendships will be
 " secure , when I suffer such things ?
 " Where is there Fidelity , where is
 " there Trust any longer amongst Men ?
 " Had I alone been in danger, I should
 " not have matter'd it. I know I am
 " not immortal ; but this Revolt , or
 " Rebellion rather, is public, and this
 " War equally concerns us all. I could
 " be glad, if it were possible, that *Cas-*
 " *sius* would come and plead his Cause
 " before You, or before the Senate. I
 " would joyfully surrender up the Go-
 " vernment without drawing Blood, if
 " the Public should then think it expe-
 " dient. For 'tis for the Public that I
 " have endured all this Labor and Toil ;
 " 'tis for That alone, that tho I am
 " old and infirm, I have lived here so
 " long out of *Italy*, where I could neither
 " eat without Sorrow, nor sleep with-
 " out Care. But since this is what *Cassius*
 " will never yield to ; (For how can he
 " trust to one, to whom he has been
 " so treacherous ?) I desire you not to
 " be concerned. The *Cilicians*, the Sy-

A.C.

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“rians, the Jew’s, and the *Aegyptians*;
 “were never able to stand before you,
 “nor ever will be, if there were Ten
 “thousand times more of them than
 “there are. Nay, *Cassius* himself, as
 “great a General as he seems to be,
 “with all the noble Actions that he
 “has performed, will never do any
 “thing here. Can an Eagle do much
 “at the Head of a Flight of Dawes, or
 “a Lion, of a Herd of Deer? Besides,
 “it was not *Cassius*, it was you that
 “made an End of the *Arabian* and *Par-*
 “*thian* Wars. *Marcus Verus*, who is
 “still of your side, did more in the
 “*Parthian* War than *Cassius*, and yet
 “there it was that he got all his Glory.
 “But he has repented perhaps that
 “ever he meddled, now he hears that
 “I am still alive; for he could certain-
 “ly never have done what he did, if
 “he had not thought I had been dead.
 “Be that however as it will, if he
 “hears we are marching against him,
 “he will soon give over, out of Fear
 “of You, and Reverence for Me. One
 “thing onely I am afraid of, for I must
 “conceal nothing from You, that ei-
 “ther he will kill himself, being asha-
 “med to appear before us, or that
 “some

“some of his own Men , when they
 “know that we are marching against
 “him, will cut him off ; and then I
 “shall be robbed of a Noble Reward
 “of my Victory , and such a one as
 “no Man ever had before me. And
 “what Reward is this ? Why, to for-
 “give a Man that has injured me ; to
 “continue a Friend to one that has
 “broken the Law’s of Friendship ; to
 “be true to him that has been false.
 “As strange as these things may seem
 “to you, I would not have you wholly
 “disbelieve them. Goodness is not yet
 “quite lost in the World ; we have still
 “some remains of the Ancient Virtue.
 “If any are yet incredulous, that will
 “heighten my desire of shewing them
 “what they could not believe. And
 “then I shall gain a sufficient Recom-
 “pence for all these Calamity’s, when
 “I shall bring this matter to such an
 “Issue, that the World may see ’tis
 “possible to make the right Use of a
 “Civil War.

A. C.

175.

§. 4. The Letters which *Marcus* sent
 to his Wife, and to the Senate , after
Cassius was killed , shew that this was
 no dissembled Clemency. (e) “ You do
 “ well, say’s he in his Letter to his Wife,
 “ to

Vul. Gall.
 in Cass.
 cap. 11.

A.C.

175.



“ to shew so great a Concern for me,
 “ and for our Children. I read your
 “ Letter when I was at *Formiae*, where-
 “ in You desire me to punish the Ac-
 “ complices of *Cassius*: But I am re-
 “ solved to pardon his Children, his
 “ Son-in-Law, and his Wife; and I
 “ intend to write to the Senate, that
 “ their Proscriptions may not be too
 “ heavy, or their Punishments too se-
 “ vere. Nothing recommends a *Ro-*
 “ *man* Emperor so much to his People
 “ as Clemency. This made *Cæsar* a
 “ God; this consecrated *Augustus*; and
 “ this gave your Father the peculiar
 “ Surname of *Pius*. In short, could I
 “ have managed the matter to my own
 “ mind, *Cassius* had never been killed.
 “ Rest therefore, my Dear, secure:
 “ The Gods will protect me: The
 “ Gods regard my Piety. I have no-
 “ minated our *Pompeianus* Consul for
 “ next Year.

§. 5. The Letter which he hints at, that he wrote to the Senate, is this:

Ibid. c. 12.

“ I have declared my Son-in-Law Con-
 “ sul for Joy of our Victory. I mean
 “ *Pompeianus*; whose Age ought long
 “ since to have been rewarded with the
 “ Consulat, if other brave Men had
 “ not

“ not slept between, to whom what
“ was due to them from the Common-
“ Wealth, ought of right to be payd.
“ As for the Rising of *Avidius Cassius*,
“ I beg and intreat you, that you will
“ lay aside your usual Severity, and
“ preserve my Piety and Clemency, or
“ rather your own. I would have no
“ Senators put to Death by the Se-
“ nate. I would have no Noble
“ Blood spilt: Recall those you have
“ banisht: Restore their Estates to
“ those you have proscribed: Would
“ to God I could recall to Life those
“ that are dead already. It is ne-
“ ver popular in a Prince to revenge
“ his private Wrongs: And however
“ just such Revenges may seem to
“ be in themselves, they will al-
“ way's appear severe. Therefore pray
“ forgive *Cassius's* Children, and his
“ Wife: Forgive them, did I say? They
“ have done no harm. Let them live
“ securely, and know that 'tis *Marcus*
“ they live under. Let them enjoy
“ some part of their Patrimonial Estate;
“ let them have their Money, their
“ Plate, their Furniture; let them be
“ rich, at ease, and at liberty, to go
“ where they please: And let this Ex-
“ ample

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“ ample of your Piety and mine be il-
 “ lustrious throughout the World :
 “ For this, Fathers, is no great In-
 “ stance of Clemency, that the Chil-
 “ dren and Wives of those that are
 “ proscribed be forgiven : I desire that
 “ all those Senators and Knights who
 “ may be suspected to have been in the
 “ Conspiracy, may be free’d from Exe-
 “ cutions, Proscriptions, Dread, Infa-
 “ my, Envy, and in short, from any
 “ manner of Harm. And let this be
 “ peculiar to our Times, that those
 “ who have died in War in Cases of
 “ Treason, died unpitied.

§. 6. *Marcus's* Actions also were all of a piece with his Letters. The Senate had declared *Cassius* an Enemy to the State as soon as the News came of his Rising: They had proscribed him, and seized upon his Estate; yet *Marcus* would not put any of the (f) forfeited Money into the Treasury; for which Reason the Senate order’d it to be applied to the Uses of the Public. When *Cassius's* Head was brought to him, he commanded it to be buried. He pardon’d all he could: He restored to *Cassius's* Children one half of his Estate: He gave *Alexandra*, *Cassius's* Daughter, with

Capit. in
 Marco.
 cap. 25.
 Vul. Gall.
 in Cassio.
 cap. 9.

with her Husband *Druentianus*, leave to go where they pleased; and as long as *Marcus* lived, they enjoy'd perfect quiet, keeping up the Rank of Senators without molestation: Nay, he punish'd some for their petulance, who having Suits of Law with *Cassius's* Relations, objected to them the Treasonable Attempts of *Cassius*, as an Argument to induce the Court to favour the Plaintiff against the Defendants, who were then under a Cloud: And *Heliodorus* the Son of *Cassius*, who suffered the most severely of any of his Family, was onely banisht. The rest of that Party, excepting some few Centurions, lived very quietly, till the Reign of *Commodus*, who burnt alive all the Relations of *Cassius* that were left, upon Pretence of having discover'd them in a Plot against his Government.

§. 7. Tho *Marcus* shew'd such Lenity to the Persons of those who had thus basely conspired against him, yet he omitted no necessary Care to secure himself against any farther Insults of that kind. He publisht an Edict that no Man for the future should be Governor of the Province in which he was born. He resolv'd to go in Person into,

A. C.

175.

Capit. in
Marco
cap. 26.

Vol. Gall.
cap. 13.

Dio. p.
813. D.

A.C. the *East*, where he had never been be-
 175. fore, and he took his Journey soon after
 ~~~~~ *Cassius's* Rebellion was extinguish'd. He  
 carry'd his Son *Commodus* with him,  
 whom he had just then invested with  
 the *Tribunitial Power* (g) at the desire  
 of the Senate, to make him acquainted  
 with that Empire which he was after-  
 wards to govern, and to prevent any  
 Excesses he might possibly be guilty of  
 in his Absence.

A.C. §. 8. His first step (h) was into *Sy-*  
 176. *ria*, which was the Center of *Cassius's*  
 ~~~~~ Interest: There it was necessary to shew  
 marks of his Displeasure. *Antioch* the
 Capital City of that Countrey had of-
 fer'd many Indignity's to *Marcus* before,
 to gratify *Cassius*: From them therefore
 he took away all their Privileges, their
 Games, and Shew's, and reduced them
 to the condition of an open Borough,
 and all the while he was in that Coun-
 try, would not once see the Town.
 The Country was entirely reduced be-
 fore by *Marcus Verus*, who was sent
 thither out of *Cappadocia* for that pur-
 pose; *Marcus* having now nothing left
 to do, but to pardon or punish as he
 should see convenient. Pardoning was
 most agreeable to his Temper, so he
 gene-

generously forgave all the Cities which had acknowledged *Cassius*, excepting *Antioch*, where he was first proclaimed. *Verus* who knew his Master's Temper perfectly, had already seized upon *Cassius's* Papers, and burnt every thing which might bring any Man into Question. (i) And when he was asked how he durst do a Thing of that Consequence without his Master's Knowledge? He replied, That he knew the Emperor would not be angry: If he should, himself would willingly perish to save so many as otherwise might be concerned. By such a Minister we may better guess at his Master, than by any single Action that *Marcus* ever did in his whole Life.

A.C.
176.
Dio. p.
813. A. B.

§. 9. From *Syria* *Marcus* went into *Aegypt*: There also he found a Nation which stood in need of his Forgiveness. The *Alexandrians*, a mutinous giddy People, like the *Antiochians*, had joined with *Cassius*, and been very liberal in their Censures of the Emperor, to please *Macianus*, *Cassius's* Son, whom he had made Governor of that City. *Marcus* however forgave them freely; and to shew he did so, he left his Daughter at *Alexandria*, whilst he went on in his Progress. At *Pelusium* he

Capit. in
Marco.
cap. 26.

Ibid. c. 23.

A.C.

176.



he did an Action which shew'd his strict Love to, and Concern for the Reformation of Mankind. It was a Custom there, at the Festivals of *Sarapis* to have a mighty Confluence of all the People, at which times no Debauchery's nor Lewdnesses were unacted. *Marcus* therefore forbid the common People to be present at those Sacrifices, and suffered none to be by, but those onely that were to bear a part.

Ibid c 26.

Dio. p.
813. D.E.

§. 10. From *Aegypt* *Marcus* returned thro *Syria*, where he accepted of the Submissions of the *Antiochians*, who had smarted as he thought sufficiently for their Folly, and restored them their Privileges again. Thence he went towards the Lesser *Asia*, and at the Foot of Mount *Taurus* he lost his Wife *Faustina*, who had accompanied him during his whole Journey. He lamented very passionately for her Death, acquainted the Senate with his Loss, and desired them to pay her all possible Honors for his sake. Accordingly a Temple was erected to her; she was solemnly deify'd; her Image of Silver, with an Altar to it was set up in the Temple of *Venus* at *Rome*, to which all Young Men and Women in the City that

that were going to be marry'd, were order'd to sacrifice: Her Statue of Gold, as often as the Emperor went to the Theatre, was placed beside him in the Imperial Seat, with the Ladies of the first Quality in the City to attend it. The Emperor also made a Foundation for the constant educating and providing for a set Number of young Women, who were to be called *Faustinianæ*, after the Empresses Name. This was a sort of Charity that had been practised before. When her Mother died, *Antoninus Pius* made a Foundation of this sort to her Honor, whom *Marcus* now imitated. This was a sure way to have her Name remembred after her Death, whatsoever she might have done whilest she lived, to deserve-it. *Marcus* also made a (k) Colony of the Village where she died, and there erected a Temple to her Memory. This Temple afterwards changed its Divinity, and was dedicated to *Elagabalus*; a Change which any one that reflects upon what is commonly sayd of *Faustina*, will not think to have been improper.

§. II. But there is Reason to believe that much of the Infamy the Memory of *Faustina* labors under, is unjust.

A.C.

176.



Capit. in
Marco
cap. 26.

Ibidem.

A.C. just. There is no Question but she was
 176. guilty of Indiscretions, which in a Per-
 ~~~~~ son of her Quality could not be hid,  
 and which the Vices of her Children  
 did very much help to aggravate. Yet  
 sure no Man can think that a Man of  
 such severity of Morals as *Marcus*,  
 would have born so many things in a  
 Wife, which he might so easily have  
 helpt. Especially when some Things he  
 must have encouraged, where to have  
 been passive onely would have been too  
 too much. Shall we think that *Marcus*  
 would ever have preferr'd any Gallants  
 of hers, whom he knew to be so? And  
 yet this is layd to his charge. And  
 besides, it is ridiculous to believe that  
*Marcus* would himself have thanked the  
 Gods (*1*) for giving him such a Wife, so  
 obedient, so kind, and so ingenuous, if she  
 had been so lewd a Woman as she is  
 described to have been. Lampoon and  
 Libel are of the growth of all Ages;  
 and since even the *best of Princes* have  
 their Enemies, we need not wonder  
 that Men will raise Stories, or magnify  
 them at least, against those who are any  
 way obnoxious, when they have any  
 sort of colour, that is enough to make  
 them pass.

Capit. in  
 Marco.  
 cap. 29.  
 M. Ant.  
 De rebus  
 suis. l. 1.  
 §. 17.

§. 12. Under another Emperor this Conjunction of *Faustina's* Death might have done a great deal of mischief. The Senate finding the Emperor very sorrowful for her Loss, thought to make their Court to him by making a severe Enquiry into the Accomplices of *Cassius*. This might have proved fatal to great Numbers, if *Marcus* had not as soon as he heard of it, desired them passionately in his Letters to give over.

A.C.

176.

‘ Nothing, say’s he, can comfort me  
‘ for *Faustina's* Death, if you will not  
‘ let the Conspirators with *Cassius* be at  
‘ quiet. Let it not be sayd that a Con-  
‘ spirator falls by mine, or by your Or-  
‘ der in my Reign. I shall soon die, if  
‘ in this matter I be not comply’d with.  
This put a stop to all farther prosecutions, and encreased the Veneration which now the whole Empire unanimously payd him.

Dio. p.

813. C. D.

§. 13. When *Marcus* had settled Matters in the *East*, he thought of hastening home. In his Progress, he visited the most remarkable Cities upon the Road, where he was willing to shew his Love to Letters, by sending for and discoursing with the most Learned Men that he could meet with. He

**A.C.** would discourse of Philosophical Subjects, and frequently read Lectures himself to great Numbers who thronged to hear him. One of the *Græcian* Cities stamp'd a Noble Medal in Honor of this their Royal Instructor, on the Reverse of which there is *Orpheus* with his Lyre playing to a numerous Assembly of Birds and Beasts that were all listning to his Music. This was a Custom that *Marcus* used formerly at his Leisure Houres, desirous still to do good to Mankind both as a Philosopher and as a Prince. *Cassius* hinted at this in his Letter to his Son-in-Law, mentioned already, wherein he laughs at *Marcus* for spending his Time in disputing, instead of governing the Empire.

§. 14. It is very probable, that in the beginning of his Reign, others might laugh at *Marcus* for his Philosophy, besides *Cassius*. *Lucius* the Sophist's Jest upon his going to Lectures to *Sextus* of *Chæroneæ*, we have had already.

Chap. 1. §. 27. Abundance of worthless Fellow's pretending to Philosophy, made their Court that way, and thereby, by getting into Places of Trust and Profit, or challenging an Immunity from all Duty's, and a Licence to go where, and

And. Mo-  
rellius in  
Specimine  
Rei Anti-  
quariæ.  
p 20. Edit.  
Paris.

It is Engra-  
ved in the  
Title Page.

and to do what they pleased, because they were Philosophers, had oppressed the Commonwealth; and this indeed might give an occasion for Men to talk; which when *Marcus* was made sensible of, he redrest. (m) But after he had shewn the reality of his Philosophy, by so noble an Instance as the pardoning the Accomplices of *Cassius*, he was revered as a Philosopher indeed, and his Words were received as Oracles by all his Subjects. *Vulcatius Gallicanus* say's, that when he left the City to go to the Third German War, the People fearing that he might not return again in safety, beg'd of him, not out of Flattery, but in good earnest, to leave some Philosophical Precepts behind him, which to gratify them he did; and for three day's together he read Public Lectures, wherein he layd down the Duties of Civil Life. (n)

§. 15. Among other Cities *Marcus* took *Smyrna* in his way. *Aristides* the Sophist lived then in that Town, of which he was the greatest Ornament. After *Marcus* had been there two or three day's he wondred he could not see him, and asked the *Quintilii* why they did not present *Aristides* to him.

H 3

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A.C.

176.



A.C.

176.



Philostar.  
in Aristide  
P. 579.

Aristid.O-  
rat. Tom.  
I. 15.

They assured the Emperor they had not yet seen him, but would bring him as soon as they could, and accordingly brought him the next day. *Why is it so long before I see you, say's Marcus? I have been hard at Study, reply's Aristides; and when the mind is once entred upon any Subject, it should not be taken off before it has master'd it.* The Simplicity of the Man pleased Marcus exceedingly, who asked him when he should hear him. *Propound your Subject to day, say's Aristides, and you shall hear me upon it to morrow; but then I desire that my Friends may be by when I speak. They shall, say's Marcus. But then they must hum and shout as much as if you were not there, reply's Aristides. It is your Business to take care of that, say's Marcus; and orders him to harangue upon his own City: He did so, and his Oration is still extant amongst his Works.* This little Story will give one a better Idea of the Vanity of those Ancient Sophists, than any thing I know, and for the variety will I hope be excused by those who otherwise might think it too trivial. Some time after Marcus left this City, it had the misfortune to be ruined by an Earthquake. *Aristides therupon*



therupon wrote a very passionate Letter to the Emperor, to desire him to relieve the Inhabitants in their great distress.. When *Marcus* read it, he was so concerned, that he wept, and order'd it to be rebuilt more beautifully than before. By this Benefaction he shew'd his Love to *Aristides*, whose Eloquence he admired, and his Gratitude to a City which had before shewn its Loyalty to him, and Zeal for his Government, upon a very signal Occasion. For when *Severianus* (o) the Governor of *Armenia* in the beginning of his Reign, had been killed, and his Army routed by *Vologesus* King of *Parthia*, at *Elegeia* a Town in *Armenia* near the *Euphrates*, those Soldiers that got off fled to *Smyrna* with their General's Body. The Citizens taking pity upon them, bury'd the General within their City, and cloathed the Soldiers with great chearfulness, who were almost naked, and relieved their wants. This probably was the Reason why *Marcus* honour'd them with a Visit in his Journey home thro the Lesser *Asia*; and we may be sure this encreased that natural readiness which he alway's shew'd to support the miserable,

A.C.

176.

~~~~~

Aristid.

Tom. 2.

Orat. 13.

Dio 1. 71.

p. 201. B.

Aristid.

Tom. 2.

Orat. 13.

P. 295.

A.C. when he was informed of their Calamity.
176.

§. 16. The next place where we hear of *Marcus*, was *Athens*. There he found Philosophers enough to talk with ; Men that would value him for those Excellency's which the ignorant part of Mankind despised, and whom he could honour according to their Merits. *Herodes Atticus*, who had formerly been one of his Tutors, was still alive : For Interest and Wealth he was the most considerable Man in the City. When *Cassius* rose, he endeavoured to get *Herodes* of his side, and sent him very Civil Letters to that purpose : To which *Herodes* returned this Answer in one word, (*p*) *You are mad*. He had formerly been out of favor upon some Accusations which the *Quintilii* (two Brothers that governed *Greece* jointly under *Marcus*) presented to the Emperor, of his oppressing the *Athenians*. *Marcus* would never be partial when Justice was concerned, and heard the *Athenians* very patiently, who proved their Accusations upon several of *Herodes's* Freed-men, who under his protection had committed great Oppressions. These Delinquents therefore *Marcus*

Philostat.
in vi a
Herodis.

Ibid.

CUS

cas banisht, and sent *Herodes* home again very angry that he lost his point. But upon his Submission (as we have Reason to believe) he was again received into favor, and now, as formerly, was the chiefest Man in *Athens* when *Marcus* came thither. *Marcus* had two things to do at *Athens*, to be initiated in the Mysteries of *Ceres*, and to honor and encourage Learning in the City of the World which had been the most famous for it. As to the former, he lay under a sort of a Vow (*q*), which he made in the *Pannonian* War, to go to *Athens*, and there be initiated in those *Eleusian* Rites. According to the Superstition of those Ages, none could be admitted but one that was perfectly pure, and he too was to go through a long course of Mortification and Abstinence, to be imposed by the *Mystagogus*; before he could be fully qualified. This *Marcus* performed, to let the World see that he was an *Innocent* Man, and *Herodes* was his *Mystagogus*.

§. 17. But how important soever *Marcus* might think this Initiation to be to himself, with regard to Mankind this was the least thing that he employed himself about whilst he was at *Athens*.

A.C.

176.

A.C. *Athens.* The Learning then in vogue
 176. in the World had its whole Rise from
 ~~~~~ that City in a great measure. After  
 the Power of the *Athenians* was sunk,  
 their Learning still flourisht : And the  
 first Founders of *Sects* amongst the  
*Greeks* living most of them at *Athens*,  
 the Schools which they raised still con-  
 tinued, which caused it to be a Noble  
 University, whither the Great Men  
 amongst the *Romans* many Ages after-  
 wards sent their Children to study.  
 The *Athenians* still kept up regular Pro-  
 fessors for all those Sciences which were  
 then in fashion; for *Grammar*, *Rhetor-*  
*ic*, and the four great *Sects* of their  
 Philosophy, *Platonic*, *Peripatetic*, *Stoic*,  
 and *Epicurean*. His Father *Pius* settled  
 Salary's for all these Professors, but  
 some Accidents, which at this distance  
 we can onely guess at, had destroy'd  
 his Establishment. *Marcus* therefore  
 now revived it, and fix'd their Allow-  
 ance (r) to two *Attic Talents*, a Man  
*per Annum* to every Professor, which  
 comes to about 375 *l.* sterling apiece of  
 our Money a Year. (s) All these, ex-  
 cept some few whom *Marcus* named  
 himself, he left to *Herodes* to nomi-  
 nate as long as he lived. The same  
 Esta-

Establishment he fixt at *Smyrna*, and *Ephesus*, and probably every where else, where there were public Professors for the Instruction of Youth.

A.C.

176.

Philostat.  
in Theodora.

§. 18. After this, in the latter End of the Year 176, he returned to *Rome*, from which he had now been absent almost eight Years. The Senate desired his Presence in their Acclamations after *Cassius's* Death, but he was willing to set the *East* in Order, before he would seem to do any thing like fixing at home. Upon the Sea he was in danger of being shipwrackt, but he landed at *Brundisium* safely. In token of this Deliverance, the Senate order'd Medals to be stamped to the Emperor's Felicity, with *Neptune* calming the Sea with his Trident, whilst *Marcus* sits at the Head of a Galley tost about with the Waves. He was now truly welcome home, and nothing was too much to testify the Peoples Joy.

Angeloni  
Historia  
Augusta  
in Marco.  
numm.  
xxxii. p.  
161.

§. 19. Soon after his arrival, Dec. 23. 176. *Marcus* and his Son *Commodus* triumph'd together for his Victories in *Pannonia*. To grace that Triumph he declared his Son *Commodus*, *Augustus*; thereby investing him with all the Honors of a compleat Partnership, which  
*L. Verus*

A.C.

177.

Dio. p.

814. A. B.

*L. Verus* before enjoy'd. In token of this double Solemnity, he exhibited very noble Shew s, and made a Distribution of VIII *Aurei* a Man (*t*) to the People, which was more than they had ever before received at one time. But this was the least Instance of his Liberality at that time. To understand which fully, we are to observe, that when *Hadrian* came to the Empire, he order'd all the Arrears that were owing to the Public, both those which fell to the Emperor's private share, and those which were due to the Public Treasury, for the last XVI Year's past, to be wholly remitted throughout the Empire: And he extended this Liberality for XVI Years to come, (*u*) including his first Year in both Terms of Years; so that all casual Forfeitures of any sort which might happen during that Interval, were by this means remitted to the Public; and the Prince was by consequence to receive only the regular Duties in all that time. The Casualties of so vast an Empire in so many Years, would amount to a prodigious Sum of Money; and therefore this Liberality of *Hadrian's* in remitting them for XXX Years, is deservedly remembered

as a Noble Instance of his Love to his People in that Prince, by all those Historians and Chronologers that speak of him. - Medals are still extant, wherein *Hadrian* is described (x) with a lighted Torch in his Hand, burning Bonds and Securities for Money due to the Public, in the open *Forum*.

A.C.

177.

§. 20. Now from the expiring of the XV<sup>th</sup> Year of *Hadrian* to this Year CLXXVII, there were XLV Years, in which time abundance of Persons must of necessity owe great Sums to the Exchequer, which tho perhaps many could never pay, yet all that ow'd any thing to the Public would have been glad of having all the Writings that were out against them cancelled, and a new Score begun. In imitation therefore of *Hadrian*, who was *Marcus's* first and real Raifer, he remitted the Arrears that were owing to the Public for those XLV Years after the expiring of *Hadrian's* Liberality; and Medals are still extant, wherein *Marcus* (y) is represented with a Lighted Torch in his Hand burning of Deeds in the *Forum*, in imitation of those mentioned before of *Hadrian*. There was Peace now throughout the Empire;  
*Marcus*

A.C. 177. *Marcus* had now triumphed over all his Enemy's, and when he was making great Distributions to the People, who might not as to the body of them so much need them, he was resolved that the whole Empire in the most necessitous part should feel the effects of his Liberality.

Dio p.  
814. C.

Capit. in  
Marco.  
c. 27.

§. 21. But this Peace did not last long: The *Germans* rose again, and put those that lived upon the Borders into a great Consternation. The *Quintilii*, two Brothers whom *Marcus* jointly employ'd before in the Government of *Greece*, who were very wise and understanding Men, were sent to repress these disorders. This when they could not do, *Marcus* thought it advisable to go once more himself, and make a perfect End of that War. Before he went, *Commodus* married *Crispina* the Daughter of *Bruttius Praesens*, and *Marcus* upon that occasion gave another Congiary to the People. This was the IX<sup>th</sup> Time (2) that *Marcus* had bestow'd Public Liberality's of that kind: So ready was he to shew his Love to them, whenever he had a handsome opportunity.

§. 22.



§. 22. Before he went, he solemnly asked the Senate for a Supply to carry on the War, that *Commodus* might be early taught to believe that he was but a Steward for the Public. He told the Senate upon that occasion, that he had nothing of his own, not so much as the House he lived in, but that all his Possessions were for the Service of the Common-Wealth. After that, when he had solemnly denounced War in the Temple of *Bellona*, by throwing a flaming Dart towards the Enemy's Country, he set out with his Son *Commodus*, Aug. 3. 178. for *Germany*, where he spent the remainder of his Day's, (which were something (a) above a Year and a half) in pursuing those *Marcomans* and *Quadi*, and their Neighbours, who had formerly given him so much trouble. He got one remarkable Victory by *Paternus* his General, who after those *Barbarians* had stood a whole Day, routed them at last, and cut them quite off. For this, *Marcus* was the X<sup>th</sup> time proclaimed Emperor (b); which being joined with the XXXIII<sup>d</sup> Year of his *Tribunitial Power* in his Medals, shew's that this Victory was obtained in the Year CLXXIX, not long before

A.C.

178.

Dio. p.  
814. D.

Dio. ibid.

Lamprid.  
in Com-  
modo.  
cap. 12.

Dio. ibid.

A.C.

179.

**A.C.** before he died. Had he lived a Year  
**179.** longer, the whole Countrey had been  
 reduced to a formal Province; but his  
 last Sickneſs coming on, prevented all  
 his Deſigns, and gave his Enemy's that  
 Reſpite which otherwiſe they could not  
 have hoped to have enjoy'd.

§. 23. *Commodus* now began to be  
 very unruly and diſſolute: He was in-  
 veſted with a Power equal in a manner  
 with his Father, and the Soldiers had  
 ſworn Allegiance to him jointly with  
*Marcus*: So that the good Old Empe-  
 ror had as it were given away his Pow-  
 er, and had a melancholy Proſpect of  
 what the Empire might one day ſuffer,  
 by his Fault. For he might at firſt have  
 nominated another Succeſſor, and the  
 Army and Senate would have made no  
 Scruple to have conſented to whatſo-  
 ever he ſhould have propoſed. But it  
 was now too late; and whether Grief  
 for his Son's Cruelties and Luſts, which  
 began to diſcloſe themſelves, might  
 not haſten his End, is uncertain. *Dion*  
**P. 814. E.** ſay's, that the Phyſicians, when he be-  
 gan to be indispoſed, poyſon'd him to  
 pleaſe his Son, who thought it long  
 till he was free'd from all constraint. If  
*Marcus* was ſenſible of the foul Play, he  
 took

took no notice of it, but solemnly recommended his Son to the Army a little before he died ; and when the Captain of the Guards came to him for the Word, *Go, say's he, to the rising Sun, for I am now a setting.*

A.C.

180.

  
P. 815. A.

S. 24. This Recommendation of his Son to the Army, he perform'd with great Solemnity. He called all his Friends and General Officers together, and raising himself up upon his Couch, he made them a Speech to this purpose.

Herodian.

Lib. 1. § 8.

“ I wonder not, Fellow-Soldiers, that  
 “ you are extreamly troubled to see  
 “ me in this condition : It is natural  
 “ for Men to pity their Fellow-Crea-  
 “ tures in distress ; and the Calamity's  
 “ that we see, challenge the greatest  
 “ share of Commiseration. But I sup-  
 “ pose I have something more to ex-  
 “ spect from You, since my carriage  
 “ all along towards You gives me Rea-  
 “ son to hope for a mutual Return of  
 “ Kindness. This is a proper time to  
 “ let me see that the Honours I have  
 “ conferred upon you, and the Care I  
 “ have taken of you for so many Years,  
 “ have not been bestow'd to no pur-  
 “ pose ; and for You to shew your  
 “ Gratitude, by letting the World see

I

“ that

A. C.

180.



“ that You are not unmindful of those  
 “ many Favours You have received.  
 “ You see my Son whom you have edu-  
 “ cated, just come to Man’s Estate,  
 “ standing in need of a Pilot, like  
 “ Ships at Sea in a Storm, least if he  
 “ should be tost about, for want of ex-  
 “ perience he might be thrown upon ill  
 “ courses. Be you therefore as so ma-  
 “ ny Fathers in my single stead, ready  
 “ to assist him upon all occasions, and  
 “ to suggest to him what is still most  
 “ proper for him to do. No Many  
 “ will supply a Tyrant’s Lusts, nor any  
 “ Guards protect a Prince who is not  
 “ beforehand strengthen’d with his Sub-  
 “ jects Love. Those onely have reign-  
 “ ed long and without danger, who  
 “ have instilled a Love for their Persons  
 “ in the minds of their People, by acts  
 “ of Kindness, which have made them  
 “ desired when they were gone; whilst  
 “ cruel Princes have onely been feared  
 “ whilst they lived, and *detested after*  
 “ *their Deaths*. Those who willingly  
 “ obey, not those that serve for Fear,  
 “ are the Persons whom we need not be  
 “ afraid of; who never do or suffer any  
 “ thing out of dissimulation or flattery,  
 “ and who will never break the Rein,  
 “ if

“ if thro oppression and contumelious  
“ usage they be not driven to it. 'Tis  
“ hard to set Bounds to Mens Lusts,  
“ when they are backed by Power. But  
“ if you put him in mind of these  
“ things, and advise him to remember  
“ what he now hears, you will make  
“ him an excellent Prince for your  
“ selves, and for the Public, and you  
“ will oblige my Memory beyond all  
“ measure, which by this onely way  
“ you will render immortal.” When  
*Marcus* had gone thus far, he fainted,  
and was forced to stop: And the next  
day he died after he had reigned XIX  
Years, and XI Day's.

A.C.

180:

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Dio p.
815. C.

C H A P. VII.

*Of Marcus's Civil Administration of
the Government ; and of his Dis-
positions and Virtues.*

S. I. **H**ITHERTO some Account
has been given of the Acti-
ons of *Marcus*, so far as they could be
ranged according to Order of Time ;
and even those of the Time of which

one could not be positive, Reasons have been assigned why they were placed rather under one Year than another. What has been said already, sufficiently shew's how very happy the *Roman* Empire was for those XXXIII Years during which he governed it; if we reckon his Reign from the Time that his Father gave him the *Tribunitial Power*, which was about XV Years before his Death. For from that Time he was truly *Pius's* Colleague in the Empire, who did very little without him (c); tho *Marcus* still observed his Father with the same assiduity that he did before.

§. 2. But there are many particular Actions recorded of *Marcus*, which are of great Use to Mankind to be remembered, even tho they should signify little to ascertain the History of that Age. Good Princes ought to have all the good they do remembered as an Encouragement and an Example to Posterity; and something may be learnt from every Action of great Men, if it be faithfully and intelligibly told.

§. 3. Now that we may have a more compleat Idea of the Civil Government of *Rome* under *Marcus*, it may
not

not be amiss to enquire into the Legal Extent of the Power which the Emperors of *Rome* at that time enjoy'd. The Settlement of the *Roman* Monarchy was made by *Augustus* after the Battle of *Actium*; who when he was persuaded by *Mæcenæ*s to keep the Power which he had, still in his Hands, without surrendring it to the Senate and the People, (as he once seems to have had a Mind to do,) united under several Titles, in one Person, all that Power which the *Consuls*, *Dictators*, *Tribunes of the People*, *Censors*, and *High-Priests*, had of old under the Republic. Those Names the People were already used to, and under one or other of them the whole Executive Power, within and without the City, Civil and Military, was placed. So that when all these Branches were united under one Head, the whole *Roman* Empire was absolutely in one Man's Power; whilst the Names and Orders of *Senators*, *Knights*, and *Plebeians* still remaining, the Emperor called himself onely the *Prince*, that is, the first or principal Man of the Empire. *Emperor*, or *Imperator*, was before the Title of the General of the *Roman* Army's, and upon any great

D. O. lib.
53. p. 508.
B.

Victory it was customary for the *Proconsuls* to be saluted by the Soldiers with the Title of *Imperator*; which Custom was retained afterwards under the Monarchy, as we have seen already. Herein onely now lay the Difference, that whereas in the times of the Commonwealth, the General who served had the Title, now the Prince had every Victory which his Generals any where obtained, added to his other Titles, by a number added to the Title I M P. which signify'd how often he or any of his Generals had ever conquer'd their Enemy's. This Title of *Imperator*, which the *Princes* now kept in Peace as well as War, and præfixed to their own Names, contained under it the whole *Dictatorial* Power within the City, and the *Proconsular* Power without, that is, such a Power as the Dictators and Governors of Provinces during the Republic exercised, when they made War with the Enemy's of the Empire. By Virtue of this Power, the *Prince* list'd Men, rais'd Money, declared War, made Peace, commanded all the Forces of the Empire, Legionary or Auxiliary, at all times and in all places, and could put any Senators

ters to Death, even within the City upon occasion, as the Dictators could formerly. Besides, within the City the Emperor had a very great Authority by virtue of his *Tribunitial Power*. This was a popular word, first invented by *Augustus*, by Virtue of which, in imitation of the Ancient *Tribunes of the People*, whose Office was now wholly sunk, he had a Negative Vote upon any Resolutions of the Senate which he did not like; his Person was sacred, and upon that pretence he could put any Man to death that affronted him in Words as well as Actions, as if he had been guilty of Blasphemy against their Gods. As often as the Senate met he could make one Motion in the House, which was to be debated before any business of their own could be heard, be it never so urgent. He could receive the Appeals of any Man that thought himself wronged within the City, or a Mile round it any way, and determine finally upon their Case when he had heard it, either by himself, or whatsoever Officer he thought fit to appoint. This also included the *Censorial Power*, which most Princes exercised without the Title of *Censor*, which was laid

Ibid. p.
508 D.

Dio. l. 51.
p. 457. B.

Dio. l. 53.
p. 508. C.

Ibid p.
508. C.

aside, as being too invidious : By that the *Prince* put in and struck out whom he pleased of Senators, *Equites*, or People ; and could degrade or raise them as he pleased ; which Power the Prince actually exercised whenever there was a *Census*, where every Man was registred according to his Quality. The *High Priesthood* also the *Prince* took to himself, and alway's inserted it among his Titles. This Office made him Master of the Religion of the Empire ; thereby he could appoint and take away what Rites or Ceremony's of their Idolatrous and Superstitious Worship he pleased : The Senior Emperor, when there were two, took this Title to himself, and executed this Office alone, till the Time of *Pupienus Maximus*, and *Clodius Balbinus*, who being set up jointly by the Senate to repress the insufferable Tyranny of *Maximinus Thrax*, neither was *Senior* in strictness to the other, and so they had all Prærogatives alike. How far these three Powers, *Imperial*, *Tribunitial*, and *Pontifical*, would extend, one may easily judge ; and then by the harm *Marcus* could have done, and ill Princes actually did, we may easily judg of the good he did do,

do, and how well he was qualified to do it.

§. 4. Besides these regular Branches of his Power, *Marcus* had another which alone did in effect put the whole Liberty's of the People into his Hand. This was the *Jus quintae Relationis* (*d*). It was a constant part of the *Tribunitial Power* for the Prince to make one Motion every time the Senate met. Sometimes thro flattery the Senate empower'd the Prince to make two Motions at a Session, sometimes three or more. By this *Jus quintae Relationis*, which was conferred upon *Marcus* along with the *Tribunitial Power*, he could make five Motions every time the Senate met: The onely shadow of Liberty *Rome*'yet had left was in the Senate; but what signify'd even this, if they could move nothing which might be for their Country's good? Liberty of debating signifies little, when useful Motions can't be made; and by that time the Prince had made all his, and they were debated, it would be time to rise, let them meet as often as they would.

§. 5. This then was the extent of *Marcus*'s Power, which was in every thing employ'd to do the People good.
He

Capit. in
Marco.
cap. 10.
Ibidem.

Ibid c. 11.

Ibid. c. 10.

Ibid.

He avoided as much as he could to appear to have this unbounded Authority ; and no Prince ever referred more things to the Arbitration of the Senate than he. When he had Causes of his own to be try'd, he often made the Senate judg : And that he might procure them Respect, he frequently committed Causes to the Decision of private Senators, who had been *Prætors* or *Consuls* already, that their Authority and their Skill in the Law's might encrease together. It was customary for the great Cities of the Empire to have constant *Agents*, or *Patrons*, to manage their Concerns, and solicit their Interest at Court : These *Marcus* chose out of the Senate , that more Senators might by this means be employ'd. When any Senator was decay'd in his Fortune, if it was not by his own fault, *Marcus* would make him *Tribune* or *Aedile*, or put him into some other gainful and creditable Office, that he might repair his Fortunes. He never brought any Man into the Senate whom he did not very well know ; and when he brought in his Friends, which he frequently did, he gave them considerable Places at the same time to support

port their Dignity. If a Senator was at any time accused of any capital Crime, *Marcus* heard the Cause himself, and with great Patience: Sometimes reprehending the Judg. when he was too quick; sometimes commanding him to try it over again, if he was by himself; saying, That this was due to their Quality, to be heard by him who was to Judg for the People: And that he might still the less expose them, all Senators in his Reign were try'd privately by their own Order; and *Marcus* would never suffer any *Knights* to be present upon those Occasions. He was at the Senate-House as often as he could, when he was in *Rome*, tho he had no Motion to make: When he had, tho he were at his Country-House, he would come to Town, and make it himself. When Causes of Moment were to be try'd, he would often stay in the Senate-House till Night, and would never stir till the Consul solemnly adjourned the Senate. He never would hasten the Pleaders, nor hurry an Examination, but give every Man his full time to answer for himself. Nay, he would stay out Causes sometimes which have lasted Eleven or Twelve Day's together;

Ibid.

Dio. p.
84. A. B.

Capit. in
Macco
cap. 10.

Ibid. c. 24.

ther; and would often give Judgment in the Night, when a Cause could not be ended sooner. For he never looked upon any thing as trifling, which was to come before him; and declared, That he thought nothing did more misbecome a Prince, than to judg in hast. Appeals made from the Consuls he alway's referred to the Senate, tho at the same time, that People might not be tired with running from one Court to another, he gave (*e*) the *Captain of his Guards*, and *the Præfect of the City*, a Power of determining finally in most Causes, without any further Appeal. When any Sentence was to be executed, his general Method was to punish convicted Criminals something less severely than the Letter of the Law required; tho where Offences were notorious and abominable, he was never to be moved. The *ordinary Consulship*, which was executed by those Consuls who began the Year, being the highest Honor that any Subject was capable of, he never took himself after *Pius's* Death, when he was in his Third Consulat, that he might have the more opportunity's of obliging the principal Men in the Empire.

§. 6. He was as tender of the *People* as he was of the *Senate*. The *People* of *Rome* had upon all public Occasions and Festival Solemnity's been used to have chargeable Distributions made them of Money and Corn, and to have Spectacles exhibited, in which great numbers of strange and fierce Wild Beasts were exposed, with Men to fight them, at a vast charge. They were so unaccountably fond of these Shew's, that when *Marcus* arm'd the Gladiators in the second *German* War, the *People* mutter'd at their going away, tho it was to defend themselves against their greatest Enemy's. *Marcus* therefore, tho at other times he was very thrifty of the Public Money, yet gave not less than IX Congiary's to the *People* in the XIX Years that he was Emperor; and his Shew's upon occasion were very magnificent. But these, as often as he could, were provided at the charge of some Rich Senators that entred into Offices; it being customary for *Consuls*, *Prætors*, *Aediles*, and such great Officers, at their first coming on, to exhibit Shew's to the *People* at their own Expence: For which Reason, in times of public Danger, *Marcus* put the Wealthiest

Ibid. c. 23.

Wealthiest Senators into those Offices, tho at other times he took contrary (*f*) Methods.

Capit in
Marco.
c. 11.

§. 7. But yet to make this Expence the easier to those who were to entertain the People with these Spectacles and Play's, he retrenched the Charges of the Amphitheatre of all sorts; and restrained the Plaiers never to take more of the Audience, of whom it was usuall to beg Money, than *Five Aurei*, which is something less than 4*l.* of our Money, at one time; or of any private *Editor* whatsoever, who did every thing at his own Charge, more than *Ten*. His Aim seems to have been to beat those Diversions as much as he could out of countenance; and no way would do that so effectually as limiting the Charge. When the Vanity which every *Editor* had to please the People by outdoing his Predecessor, could have no place, Emulation would quite cease; and then there would be small Encouragement for *Plaiers* or *Gladiators* to be excellent in their Art. This by degree's would have made those Sights grow flat; and if the People had once begun to think them so, they would soon have been left off.

§. 8.

§. 8. That *the People* should want no Justice, *Marcus* retrenched the number of Holiday's, and appointed 230 day's in the Year for the hearing of Causes, which both gave a quicker dispatch to Business, and restrained a great part of the Looseness to which so many Festival Day's gave but too frequent Opportunity's in so great a City. That no Free Man born in the City might lose any Thing that was his Due, for want of making out a Title, he order'd the Children of all *Roman* Citizens, within 30 day's after their Birth, to be registred in the Treasury of *Saturn*; and the Children of those Free Men who were born in the Provinces, were registred by Officers appointed for that purpose. By this means every Man could at any time easily make out his Claim, which ended Quarrels, and preserved Peace. Those who thro *Prodigality* or *Madness* were incapable of managing their Estates to the best Advantage, had formerly by the *Latorian* Law Curators appointed them to look after their Concerns: This Restraint being found to be insufficient, *Marcus* commanded that all Persons above Fourteen should take Curators, unless they

Ibid. c. 10.

Id. c. 9.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid. c. 11.

Ibid.

they should shew sufficient Reason that they did not want them. Guardians of Infants under Fourteen, at that time made great Wast of their Wards Estates, because it being part of the Consul's business to redress those Grievances, they thro the multiplicity of their other Affairs were forced to neglect this Branch of their Office, to the ruine of many a Family, where Parents dying early, left their Children Minors. *Marcus* therefore appointed *Tutelar Prætors*, before whom an Action lay, against unfaithful *Guardians* (or *Tutors*, as the Civil Law calls them) who either did not give in a just account of their Guardianship, or refused to execute the Office, when by Law they were obliged. He was very careful to suppress Informers, and set a Mark of Infamy upon all that at any time gave false Evidence; which sort of Vermine used formerly in some corrupt Reigns to be encouraged, by getting a fourth part of the guilty Persons Goods, who were condemned upon their Evidence. Such sort of Informations particularly *Marcus* discouraged, as tended to bring Money into his private Purse. He rarely encouraged any Proscriptions by the *Præfect*.

Præfect of the City, the Estates of all Ibid. c. 23.
 Proscribed Persons falling of course to
 the Treasury. *Italy* not being able to Ibid. c. 11.
 supply Corn enough for the City, he
 always took particular Care that it
 should never want: And once when
 some other Cities of *Italy* were pressed
 with Famine, he sent them Corn out of
 the Magazines of *Rome*. He gave strict
 Orders that the Roads which lead to
 the City should constantly be kept in
 good Repair: And because upon that Ibid.
 account, together with the Burthen of
 the Public Carriages, the People were
 often liable to be taxed more than their
 due, he gave a Power to the Curators
 of the Way's, and the Magistrates of
 the Country's thro which the Roads
 lay, to punish those who demanded of
 the People more than their Proportion, Ibid.
 or, else to send them to the *Præfect of*
the City to be punished.

§. 9. *Marcus* was as tender of the
 Subjects of the Provinces, as he was
 of the Citizens of *Rome*. He often
 eased their Taxes when they were too
 hard prest. If any City's met with any Ibid. c. 23.
 Public Calamity, he would relieve
 them out of his own Pocket. When
Smyrna and *Nicomedia*, and some other
 Cities

De seipso,
lib 1. § 17.
Cap. in
Marco.
cap. 10.

Ibid. c. 11.

Ibid.

Cities were destroy'd by Earthquakes, he rebuilt them himself. He was always liberal to the Poor, and thanked Providence that he still had it in his Power to supply them when they came to him for Relief. He would never suffer any Enquiry to be made of the Estates of the deceased for dues or forfeitures which might arise to the Public above five Years after any Man was dead. It had formerly been a Law that no Man could be a Senator, who had not a third part of his Patrimonial Estate in *Italy*, that, however joined in the common Interest, he might not appear as a Forreigner when he came into the Senate: This *Marcus* mollify'd by reducing it to a Fourth, which made it easier to the Provincial Senators, without weakning the Interest of *Italy*, where they were still obliged to have a footing. Formerly a 20th part of every Man's Estate that came to him by Will, was seized upon by the Prince as his particular share, at the Testator's Death: *Trajan* restrained this to the Subjects of the Provinces, and free'd the natural *Italians* from that Burthen. *Marcus* went farther, by easing the Provinces of this Imposition. In one word, (g) he made it his whole Study,

Study, to govern the *Roman* Empire as if it had still been free, using his Power onely to redress wrong, and to relieve the Calamitous, whensoever they addressd to him for Relief, if in Justice he could contribute to free them from their Pressures.

S. 10. In matters of moment, Military or Civil, he never cared to depend upon his own Opinion, but asked the Advice of some of the Chiefest of his Senators, who were alway's with him: And he often used to say, *That it was more reasonable that he should follow the Opinion of so many Wise Men, than that they all should follow his.* The German Wars consuming great Numbers of the Nobility, they began to be weary of the Service, and urged him much to return home; but That he would never listen to, but was still for staying till he had made such an End as he desired; which he had certainly done, if he had not been diverted. However, to please and animate them, he set up the Statues of all the considerable Men that were killed in the *German War*, in the *Forum Trajani*. Besides, he who would not compel them to stay against their Wills, knew they could not in Ho-

Ibid. c. 22.

Ibid.

P. 802 B.

Capit. in
 Mirco.
 cap. 4.
 Dio. p.
 816.

Dio. p.
 804 C.

nor leave him, who tho so sickly and infirm a Man, yet kept close to his Business, which neither Cold nor Heat, tho both in extremity, ever made him quit. *Dio* say's, that *Verus* was sent into the *East* at first to manage the *Parthian War*, because he was best able to attend it, by reason of his Health. For tho when *Marcus* was young, he loved exercise, and used to hunt, and fence, and wrestle with his Equals, and play'd very excellently at Tennis, and was then so nimble that he once killed a Wild Boar on Horseback, yet his Austerity's, with a natural Weakness of Constitution, made him contract some Distempers which never left him; notwithstanding which, he would continue whole day's upon Business in the Camp, and upon the Bench, without eating, onely taking a little Treacle in a morning to strengthen his Stomach, especially when the Weather was cold.

§. 11. He was merciful to such a degree, that no Provocations ever made him lose his Temper. He often repeats it in his *Meditations*, 'That other
 ' Mens Offences do themselves onely
 ' harm; but if we animadvert upon
 ' them, or are angry at them more than
 ' Right

‘ Right Reason allow’s, we then per-
 ‘ vert the Order of Nature, and their
 ‘ Faults so become ours.’ Nothing
 could be a greater Provocation than
 Cassius’s Rising, whom Pius and he had
 raised from nothing: Yet how concern-
 ed was Marcus that he could not par-
 don him! Fear for himself was what
 he was not capable of. When he was
 blamed for being so merciful to Cassius’s
 Family, and one sayd, *What if Cassius*
had overcome? We have not so lived, say’s
 Marcus; *we have not so served the Gods,*
that Cassius should conquer us. Reckon up
those Princes who have ever perished by
violent Deaths, and you will not find a
good Man among them: Nero deserved
what he met with: Caligula had his due:
Otho and Vitellius knew not how to go-
vern: Galba ruined himself by his Cove-
tousness. No Rebellions ever hurt Augu-
stus, or Trajan, or Hadrian, or Pius;
and yet there were several in their Reigns;
and the Authors of them all were destroy’d
either without these Princes Knowledge, or
against their Will.

Vol. Gall.
 in Cassio.
 cap 8.

§. 12. He shew’d his Concern for
 Mankind in other matters of less impor-
 tance. The Gladiators used alway s to
 fence with sharp Swords, and the People

Dion. n
 813 B. C.

Capit. in
Marco.
cap. 12.

were pleased to see them kill and wound one another in great numbers. *Marcus* made them play with Files, which might amuse a little, but could not kill : And when once a Rope-Dancer was killed by a Fall , he order'd Blankets to be layd under them to receive them, if at any time by accident any Rope-Dancers should miss their Hold.

H. E. lib.
5. c. 1.

§. 13. He lies under no Blot upon the account of his Severity, but onely that of suffering so many Christians to be so cruelly martyred during his Reign. The Persecution against them at some times was so severe, that *Justin Martyr*, *Athenagoras*, *Apollinaris* and *Melito* presented several Apologies to this Emperor, to shew how unjustly the Christians were used ; and *Eusebius* pitches upon the account of the Martyrs that suffer'd at *Lions* and *Vienna* in *Gaul*, as a Specimen of the Sharpness of the Persecution in other Cities of the Empire at the same time. Now tho all this be very true, yet *Marcus* is not directly to be charged with the Effusion of that Christian Blood that was shed in his Time. That Year that *Pius* died, *Marcus* sent a *Rescript* to the Common-Council of *Asia*, to forbid any Enquiry

H. E. l. 4.
c. 13.

quiry to be made after any Christians upon the account of their Religion; and to order the Informers that accused them upon that score, to be liable to the same Penalties that the accused Persons were liable to by the Law. In that Letter he mentions his having written to several Governors of Provinces before upon the same account. He renew'd this Order again in the Year CLXXIV, after his Victory over the *Quadi*, when he own'd that he had been assisted by the Praiers of the Christians in that great distress. *Tertullian* also, and *Lactantius*, the one in his *Apology for the Christians*, and the other in his Discourse concerning the Deaths of all those who had ever persecuted them, do directly acquit *Marcus* of having ever wrong'd the Christians for their belief. *Tertullian* goes farther, and makes him their Protector, and cites the Rescript in CLXXIV for that purpose. This I think is sufficient in some measure to excuse him, so that at least in the strictest sense he cannot justly be stiled a Persecutor of the Church of God. Tho' after all, it is a Reflection upon so good, so just, and so inquisitive a Man, that he would suffer himself so far to be car-

Apologet.
cap. 5.

M. Ant.
l. 11. s. 3.

ry'd away by *Popular Prejudices*, as never to make an exact search himself into the Manners of those who profess the Christian Religion, and into the Reasons which induced them with so great a hazard of whatsoever was dear to them in this World, to profess the Name of Christ.

§. 14. These *Popular Prejudices* occasioned those local Persecutions which broke out at times during the former part of his Reign. After the Year CLXXIV, there seems to have been no disturbance given to the Christians so long as *Marcus* lived; and during the whole time of *Commodus* they enjoy'd a profound Peace: So long the memory of their good Services in *Pannonia* remained fresh in the minds of the People. The Populace throughout the Empire were always set on by the Heathen Priests to fall upon the Christians; and they never failed on public Occasions to instigate the Governors of Provinces to disturb them. The Martyrdoms of the Christians at *Lions* happened in CLXVII, when the *Draconian* Games were celebrated. S. *Polycarp* suffer'd at *Smyrna*, when the Community of *Asia* met upon a like Solemnity.

nity. At those times, when every place was full of Joy and Mirth, the Governors gratify'd the People with Shews and Spectacles; and the Christians were then usually marked out to be sacrificed to their Rage; and their Cry's, it is probable, were then most importunate, when they knew the Governors had a Personal Aversion to these innocent People. *Marcus* therefore may fairly be acquitted, since he publisht Edicts and sent Letters in favor of the Christians, as often as they acquainted him with this their barbarous usage.

§. 15. It is very probable that the Sect of Philosophy which *Marcus* profess, was a hindrance to his making farther Enquiry's into the Christian Religion. The Stoics in their Notions of Virtue, and in their Precepts of Morality, came the nearest to the Christians, of any Philosophers whatsoever; but then their coming so near, was a hindrance to them instead of a help in going farther. Our Blessed Saviour observed when he was upon Earth, that the Harlots and Publicans were nearer to the Kingdom of Heaven than the Pharisee's who were the most exact Observers of the Letter of the *Jewish* Law:
..... of

of any Sect of that time amongst the *Jew's*. An *Epicurean* or a *Libertine*, when he is brought to reflect upon the folly of his Principles, and the madness of his way of Life, will soon be convinced that he is in the wrong ; that he acts against Reason ; that Man was never made to follow Pleasure as his chiefest Good. This is the first Step to this Man's Conversion ; he is then prepared to relish the Beauty of the Christian Doctrine, is ravished with the thoughts of the Rewards which it proposes, and never boggles at the Terms upon which it is to be attained. But he that thinks himself wise already, that pleases himself with the fancy of commanding Nature at some times, and following its Dictates at others ; will raise a Thousand Scruples and Objections ; will pretend to find this Flaw, and to pick that Fault in every thing which one of his own Sect did not at first propose. And therefore it is, That *the wisdom of God, and the Power of God*, appear's to him to be but Foolishness.

I Cor. I.
23, 24

§. 16. This seem's to have been the Reason why *Marcus* did not embrace Christianity, when he saw what wonderful things the Christians Prayers could

could effect with the great *Giver of Life*. He might think his own *Praiers* wrought him that deliverance, as his *Flatterers* would not fail to suggest upon such an *Occasion*. He might be willing however to confirm the *Toleration* which he had given them in the first Year of his *Reign*; because he saw they were well affectioned to his *Person* and *Government*, and not such dangerous men as their *Enemy's* represented them. All that we can say farther is, That the *Time of Trial* with which God thought fit to exercise the first Churches of *Christ*, was not yet past, and therefore he suffer'd this wise and discerning Prince in every thing else, still to continue in his *Blindness* as to his eternal state. Tho that sublime *Morality* which shines thro his *Writings*, wherein there is so very little of the *Pride* of the *Stoics*, makes me conclude that he had looked into the *Bible*, whose *Dogmata* as a *Philosopher* he might admire, tho he could not bring himself to submit to its *Law's*. But this we ought not to wonder at, since the *Spirit of God* has assured us, That *the Natural Man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them,* 1 Cor. 2. 14.

them, because they are spiritually discerned.

De seipso,
lib. 2. §. 11.

Id. lib. 9.
§ 3.

§. 17. But tho *Marcus* never embraced the Christian Religion, yet he discovers as true a Knowledge of the Nature of God, and of his Attributes, as any Heathen ever did. *Fate*, according to him, was no more than *Providence*: a series of Causes and Effects ordered by the great Maker of the Universe, to which all Creatures ought quietly to submit: *Who would live*, say's he in one place in his Meditations, *in a World where there was neither God, nor Providence? But there are Gods, and they take care of Mankind.* 'Twas this gave him courage in all his Trials. According to the Light he had, he was truly Religious, and trusted in Providence to protect him upon all occasions. He look'd upon himself as peculiarly under the Care of Heaven, because he knew he had faithfully served the Gods; and therefore never fear'd any outward Force or secret Treachery; resting satisfied that they would protect him. This likewise taught him neither 'to fear 'Death, nor to despise it; but to 'esteem it to be as natural for Man to 'die, as to be born; to wait as patient-ly

ly for the time when the Soul shall be
 released from the shell that covers it,
 as we do for the Time when our Chil-
 dren are to be born, after their Mo-
 thers have conceived : Still to mind
 our own Duty, and to consider that
 another Man's Sins hurt onely him-
 self.

Id. lib. 9.

§ 4.

§. 18. Such Principles as these taught
 him to be very easy towards those who
 sometimes would rail at him, or jest
 upon him even to his Face. *Cassius's*
 Jests never moved him, tho he knew
 of some of them many Years before
Cassius took up Arms against him. When
 one that had been a Gladiator, who
 by the Law upon that account was in-
 famous, and consequently incapable
 of any honourable Employment, stood
 for a Place of Credit, and *Marcus* desi-
 red him first to clear himself from the
 Imputations which lay upon him, and
 this Candidate answer'd, That he had
 known some that had been Gladiators
 with him, made Prætors before now;
Marcus bore it patiently. How he car-
 ried himself towards his Enemy's, we
 have seen already : I shall therefore now
 onely take notice of one Expression in
 his *Meditations*, to this Purpose, which
 has

Cap't. in
 Marco.
 c. p. 12.

M. Ant.

1. 7. S. 22.

has more in it of the *Christian* than the *Stoic*; That it is peculiar to Man to love those that offend him: This we should alway's do, if we did but consider that Men as such are a-kin to us; that they offend through ignorance, and against their wills; that we shall both die in a short time; and above all, that the Offender has not hurt him whom he has offended; because it is in no Man's Power to impair our Ruling Principle, (i.e. our Soul) which onely is capable of Hurt or Benefit.

Id. 1. 4

§ 29.

§. 19. But nothing shew's the Sincerity of *Marcus's* Philosophy, so much as his frequent warning Mankind not to do any thing out of Vainglory.

What poor Creatures are those politic Philosophers, who are for doing every thing by Rule? What Nature (i.e. the Order of things) requires to be done, do it. Set about it if thou hast opportunity: Look not about to observe whether any one see's thee: Expect not to find all Men like the Subjects of *Plato's* Commonwealth: Be satisfy'd if thou get'st never so little forward: And think every step thou gain'st considerable: Philosophy is a simple modest thing: Do not

' not lead me into Vainglory:——
 ' —— Words formerly in use are now Id. l. 4.
 ' become obsolete : The Names of S. 33.
 ' those Men who formerly made the
 ' greatest Noise in the World, are now
 ' likewise in some sort become obso-
 ' lete : *Camillas, Cæso, Volesus, Leonna-*
 ' *tus*; after them *Scipio* and *Cato*; then
 ' *Augustus*, then *Hadrian* and *Antoni-*
 ' *us*; these are all vanished, and will
 ' become like the Fables which are told
 ' of the Gods: Nay they will soon be
 ' totally forgotten. And this I speak
 ' of those that made a wonderful Blaze
 ' in the World; for as for the rest of
 ' Mankind, as soon as they are dead
 ' they are forgotten, and no more en-
 ' quired after. What then signify's an
 ' everlasting Name hereafter? It is all
 ' Vanity. What then is there worth
 ' taking Pains about? This onely, to
 ' have a just Mind, and to do sociable
 ' Actions; alway's to speak the Truth,
 ' and to acquire such a Temper of Soul
 ' as is ready to embrace what happens,
 ' as necessary, as known already, and
 ' proceeding from the same beginning,
 ' and the same fountain.

§. 20. No Man bore Crosses, and
 struggled with Difficulty's, with truer
 Phi.

Id. l. 4.
§ 49.

Philosophy than our *Marcus*. 'Be thou,
' *say's he to his Soul*, like a Promontory
' upon which the Waves beat continual-
' ly. It stands firm, and quiets the
' raging Waters which boyle round
' about it. Am I unhappy because this
' befalls me? By no means. I am rather
' happy, because I am so little moved
' whilest such things happen; neither
' broken by what is present, nor in
' dread of what is to come. The same
' thing might have happen'd to any
' Man else; whilest every other Man
' would not have born it so well as I
' do. Why then are cross Accidents
' unfortunate, rather than such a Tem-
' per of Mind an Happiness? And why
' callest thou that a Misfortune, which
' is not disagreeable to the Nature of
' Man? Or does that seem to thee to
' be disagreeable to the Nature of Man,
' which is agreeable to his Will? Hast
' thou learnt what is his Will? Do any
' Accidents hinder thee from being mag-
' nanimous, or just, or temperate, or
' prudent, or considerate, or sincere,
' or modest, or free, or posselt of any
' other Virtue, which when a Man is
' endued with, he has what properly
' belongs to him? In short, when any
' thing

‘ thing happens which may disturb thee,
‘ carry this along with thee, That cross
‘ Accidents are not so much a Misfor-
‘ tune, as the bearing of them with
‘ Courage is a Happiness.

§. 21. His Domestic Crosses, gave him frequent Occasion to put this last Admonition into practice. He continually after *Pius's* Death met with great Afflictions of this sort, wherewith to exercise his Patience. *Hadrian* commanded *Pius* to adopt *Verus* as well as *Marcus* ; and therefore as soon as *Pius* was dead, *Marcus* took *Verus* into Partnership with himself in the Empire, that he might seem in every thing to obey his great Benefactor's Will. For IX Years he had *Verus's* Lusts, Prodigality, and Indiscretions to struggle with, which he could neither punish nor well tolerate. This however he bore with, and dissembled as well as he could. He was very unfortunate in his Eldest Daughter, whom he married to *Verus* : And to compleat all, after he had made *Commodus*, his Eldest Son, Colleague with him in the Empire, tho he had taken all possible Care of his Education, yet he found before he dy'd, that his Successor would un-

L

do

do all that he had done, and he might have Reason to fear that the Son would leave such an Allay upon the Father's Memory, that even all the good that he had so long been labouring to do, would not wholly take it away.

Capit. in
Marco ex-
tremo.

§. 22. He never married but once : *Fabia*, *Verus's* Sister, whom *Hadrian* designed for him at first, would fain have had him when he was a Widower; but then he had so many Daughters grown up, that he was unwilling by setting a Step-Mother above them, to breed a Disturbance in his Family. By his Wife *Faustina*, who lived with him XXXI Year's, he had Five Sons, and Five Daughters: His two Eldest Sons *T. Aurelius Antoninus*, and *T. Aelius Aurelius*, died when he was but *Cæsar*, before *Pius's* Death. *Commodus*, his Third Son, who succeeded him, had a Twin-Brother *Antoninus*, who died at Four Years of Age. His Youngest Son *Annius Verus* was made *Cæsar* with his Brother *Commodus*, when *Marcus* and *Lucius* triumphed together for their Victories in the *East*. He dy'd when he was seven Years old, upon the cutting off of a Wen which grew under his Ear. His Eldest Daughter was

Inscript
Antiq. a.
pud Ma-
billon.
Tom. IV.
Analect.
Veter.
Lamprid.
in Com-
mod. c. 1.
Capit. in
Marco.
cap. 12.

was *Lucilla* Senior, who was married first to *Verus*, and after his Death to *Claudius Pompeianus*: The next was ^a *Fadilla*, and then *Domitia Faustina* ^b, ^c *Sabina*, and ^d *Lucilla* Junior: *Fadilla* had her Name from *Arria Fadilla*, *Pius*'s Mother. *Domitia Faustina* had her first Name from *Marcus*'s Mother *Domitia Lucilla*; and she was called *Faustina* after her own Mother and Grandmother. *Sabina* was so called in memory of the Empress *Sabina*, *Hadrian*'s Wife. The *Lucillæ* also were so called from their Grandmother *Lucilla*, who lived to see her Son married, if not longer. The Order of these Three last Daughters, or how long they lived, is uncertayn. Two of them were married by *Marcus*; one to *Antistius Burrbus*, the other to *Petronius Mamertinus*, both Consuls under *Commodus*, and both put to Death by him, for being concerned in a Plot against his Life and Government, of which they were accused. These were not of the old Nobility, but considerable Men in the Senate, eminent for their Wisdom and Virtues; *Marcus* chusing rather to marry his Daughters to Men remarkable for their Prudence than their Blood. *Lucilla* Junior was

^a Herodian lib. 1. c. 16.

^b Inscript. ver. apud Mabillon.

^c Herodian lib. 4. c. 6.

^d Inscript. apud Gruterum.

Lamprid. in Commod.

Herodian
lib 1. c 2.

married to *Pertinax*, by whom she had a Son, who was cut off by *Caracalla* many Years after, together with one of his Aunts, a Daughter of *Marcus*, who was then living, an Old Woman. This *Lucilla* died young; for when *Pertinax* was chosen Emperor, upon *Commodus's* Death, *Flavia Titiana*, the Daughter of *Flavius Sulpicianus*, was his Wife, who took the Title of *Augusta*, when *Pertinax* took that of *Augustus*. This is all we know of the Children of *Marcus*; the last of whose surviving Children was that Daughter whom *Caracalla* killed.

§. 23. But how unfortunate soever he was at home, he was happy in the Esteem and Love of his People, who honoured him as a Father whilest he lived, and worshipt him as a God when he was dead. The Difficulty of the Times he lived in, and his equal Carriage under all the Crosses that he met with, with the horrible Irregularity's of the succeeding Emperors, encreased the Veneration which was payd to his Memory. So that after his Death, all that could purchase them, and might keep them, were lookt upon as impious, if they had not Images of *Mar-*

Capit in
Marco.
c. 13.

cas in their Houses ; every Man thinking himself safe from all ordinary Dangers, if he had once put himself under *Marcus's* Protection : Which Superstition lasted for above one Age, till Christianity got ground enough to bring the Bulk of the *Roman* World to worship the True God. So true is it, that good Princes, who are a real Blessing to their People whilst they live, shall not fail of Reverence after their Deaths, when Flattery can have no Place : When on the other Hand, Tyrants and Oppressors, tho they may stop the Mouths of the World, whilst their Power commands Respect, are upon the level with other Men, when once they are gone ; who will then industriously revenge themselves upon their Memory's, for all the Wrongs they did formerly to themselves and their Relations.

NOTES.

Pag. 2.

(a) SEE F. Pagi's *Dissertatio Hypatica*, where the Reasons of the Emperors taking the Consulate themselves, are at large set down. *Spartianus de Hadriano*, cap. 8. *Tertio Consules, cum ipse ter fuisset, plures fecit.* The Persons whom Hadrian made Thrice Consuls, were M. Annus Verus, in the Year CXXVI; and C. Julius Servianus, in the Year CXXXIV.

Pag. 7.

(b) Ausonius in *Grat. A&.* pro Consulatu. *Unica mihi amplectendū est Frontonistimatio: quem totum Augg. Magistrum sic Consulatus ornavit, ut praefectura non cingeret. Sed Consulatus ille cuiusmodi? ordinario suffectus, bimestri spatio interpositus, in sexta anni parte consummus: querendum ut reliqueris tantas Orator, quibus Coss. gesserit Consulatum.* The Roman Emperors shifted the Consuls every two Moneths. Those that served for January and February, were the *Coss. Ordinarij*, who were registered in the *Fasti*, and gave a Name to that whole Year. The others were *Coss. Suffecti*, who came in their Places, with like Power as long as it lasted, but without the Honour of being registered in the *Fasti*, or being taken notice of in any public Deeds of that Year, as the others were. Yet these, if afterwards they were made *Ordinary Consuls*, had their other Consulates frequently reckon'd in the Account, that they might write themselves *Cos. II. III. &c.* which is necessary to be observed in examining the *Fasti*, since many times a second Consulat of one Man there occurs, without any previous notice that that Man was ever Consul before. So M. Annus Verus (Marcus's Father) is set *Coss. II.* in the *Fasti* (as set out by F. Pagi in *Critic. in Baronum ad annum CXXI.*) tho he never was *Consul Ordinarius* before. The Reason of multiplying these *Coss. Suffecti*, was to oblige a greater number

ber of Senators, since it could not come to every Man's turn to be *Consul Ordinarius*.

(c) *Capit in Marco. cap. i. Avus Annius Verus iterum Consul, & Præfectus Urbi.* Card. Noris, as cited by F. Pagi upon *Baronius ad annum 126*, says, That *Annus Verus* was *Cof. III.* that Year. It is certain he was *Cof. II.* in 121, when his Grandson *Marcus* was born. If so, then *iterum Consul* here in *Capitolinus* is to be understood, that *M. Annus Verus* was twice *Consul Ordinarius*, his first time, when he was onely *Suffectus*, not being reckoned. Pag. 12.

(d) Cardinal Noris, in his *Epistola Consularis*, will not allow *Verus* to have ever been one of the *Cognomina* of this *L. Aelius Cæsar*, because it do's not appear upon his Coins and Inscriptions; and F. Pagi thinks it was alway's a *Cognomen* of this *L. Aelius*, even before his Adoption, and so consequently a domestical Name of his Son *Lucius*, who reigned along with *Marcus*. Both of them do directly contradict *Spartian* and *Capitolinus*. And neither of them seems to have attended to *Hadrian's* original design of adopting *Marcus*, whose true *Cognomen* was *Verus* before the Adoption of *Cæsonius Commodus*. We do not indeed hear of this intention of *Hadrian's*, till *Aelius Cæsar* was dead; but the Reason was, because *Aelius* was so sickly, that *Hadrian* suspended his Resolutions, till he should see whether *Aelius Verus* would live or no: For when *Aelius* was dead, *Hadrian* adopted *Antoninus*, who was a healthy Man; and that there might be no mistakes, he postponed *Aelius's* Son *Lucius*, and perhaps *Antoninus's* own Sons, that *Marcus* might immediately succeed next to *Antoninus*. Ibid.

(e) The old Romans had usually three Names: One of the Family, ending generally in the *Nominative Case* in *us*, as *Tullius*, *Julius*, *Pompeius*; this was put in the middle: Then there was a *Praenomen*, or *Fore-Name*, as *Lucius*, *Caius*, *Cneius*, *Manius*, and the like; this was personal to the Man who used it, as Christian Names with us: At last there was a *Surname*, or *Cognomen*, sometimes personal, but for the most part common to such a particular Branch of a Family; as *Verus*, *Cicero*, *Cæsar*: Thus *L. Cæsonius Commodus* was of the Ibid.

the *Cejonian* Family, which had *Commodus* for their *Surname*. And therefore *Marcus*, in respect to *Hadrian* who first adopted *L. Commodus*, made his Eldest Son that was born to him after *Pius's* death, take that *Surname*. So the Emperor *Verus*, whose Paternal Name was *Commodus*, took the *Surname Verus*, whether in respect to *Marcus's* Family, or by *Hadrian's* designation, I know not.

Ibid.

(f) *Reinesius* produces two Inscriptions (p. 306.) which seem to give another Reason why *T. Antoninus* was adopted by *Hadrian*, and that was because *Sabina* the Empress, *Hadrian's* Wife, was *Antoninus's* Aunt. For in them both, *Matidia* Sister to *Sabina*, is called *Antonini Augusti Matertera*: *Reinesius* is at a Loss to make out this Genealogy; and *M. Tillemont* (*Histoire des Empereurs, Vie de T. Antonin.*) is not much clearer. They both understand these Inscriptions of a *Natural Aunt* of *Antoninus's*, which are to be understood of an *Adopted one*. *Hadrian* adopted *Antoninus*; then *Hadrian* was *Antoninus's* Father; then *Sabina* was his Mother; and consequently *Sabina's* Sister *Matidia* was his Aunt; *Matertera, matris soror*: So the Inscriptions are to be understood.

Pag. 13.

(g) The Names of *Pius's* Sons, whom no Historians mention, are preserved in an ancient Inscription, which *F. Mabillon* has published in the IVth Volume of his *Analeſta*; one is *M. Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus*; the other is *M. Galerius Antoninus*: of this last, who outlived his Mother there are Coyn's extant, produced by *Spanhemius de Uſu Numiſmatum*, p. 658. & *Mediobarbus* p. 207. with this Inscription *M. ΓΑΛΕΡΙΟC. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟC. ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟC. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΥ. ΤΙΟC*. On the Reverse, *ΘΕΑ. ΦΑΥCΤΕΙΝΑ*.

Ibid.

(h) *Dio in Hadriano* p. 797. B. Καὶ ἀμφοτέρους καὶ εἰσποίησατο τῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ ἐκέλευε, πρὸς ἑμῶν δὲ Βήτρων διατλήναι συγγένειαν αὐτῶν.

Pag. 27.

(i) *Capit. in Marco. cap. 6. Hadriano Baiis absente, cum Pius ad aduehendae ejus reliquias eſſet profeſſus*. But *Spartian* ſay's that *Pius* was ſent for by *Hadrian* before his Death to *Baia*, and that *Hadrian* dy'd in his Arms; in *Hadriano cap. 25. Accerſito Antonino, in conſpectu ejus apud ipſas Baias periit*.

(k) So

(k) So I interpret those words of *Capitolinus in Marco, cap. 6. Gladiatorium quasi privatus. Quasior edidit munus.* Pag. 28.

(l) *Demonax's* Jest was a Quibble. A Namesake of our Philosopher, one *Apollonius Rhodius*, had long before in the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, written an Heroic Poem, called *the Expedition of the Argonauts*. Therefore when *Apollonius* the Philosopher sailed to *Rome* to teach *Marcus*, being invited upon very noble Conditions, *Demonax* called his Crew the *Argonauts*; as if this *Apollonius* had been gone to fetch another *Golden-Fleece*. Pag. 29.

(m) *Capit. in Pio. cap. 10. Cujus [Apollonii] avaritiam etiam in mercedibus notavit.* Pag. 30.

(n) *Idem in Marco. cap. 3. Tantum autem studium in Philosophia fuit, ut adscitus jam in Imperatoriam dignitatem, tamen ad domum Apollonii discendi causa veniret.* Ibid.

(o) *F. Pagi* in his *Dissertatio Hypatica*, page 213. say's that *L. Verus* was made *Cæsar* in the Year *CLII*, ten Years before *Pius's* Death; directly against the Authority of *Capitolinus* (in *Vero cap. 3*) who say's, *Nec aliud ei Honorificentia Adnomen adjunctum est, quam quod Augusti Filius est appellatus.* In all *Mediobarbus's* Collection there is not one Medal of *Verus* before he was *Augustus*. Afterwards that most learned Man was sensible of his mistake; and therefore in his *Critic upon Baronius* (*ad Annum CLXI num. 1.*) he silently retracts his Error, and quotes the abovementioned Words of *Capitolinus*. Pag. 36.

(p) In some Coins *Titus's* Titles run thus; *IMP. CAES. VESP. AUG. F. AUG.* *Mediobarb. p. 121.* This shew's he took the Title of *Augustus* himself. *IMP.* before the Name denotes his Partnership in the Empire. It never signifies a multiplication of Victories, but when it follow's the Name, as thus, *T. CAES. VESPASIAN. IMP. IV. PONT. TR. POT. COS. II.* *Mediob. ibid.* Here's only *Cæsar* upon the Medal. *TR. POT.* without a Numeral Mark, shew's this Piece was coined the first Year of his Partnership; i. e. as *F. Pagi* calculates, before *March 28. 72.* *PONT.* without *MAX.* shew's that he and his Father were not equal in Power; er;

er; and AUG, sometimes in, and sometimes out, shew's that that Name was not then appropriated to the highest Dignity, in contradistinction to *Caesar*.

Pag. 41.

(9) *Vicena millia nummum singulis ab participatum Imperium promiserunt, & ceteris pro rata.* Cap. in MARCO. cap. 7. 20000 *Sesterces* here is equal to 5000 *Denares*, or as the Greek Historians call them, *Drachmes*, i. e. something above 156 l *sterling* a Man, to every private Centinel of the Guards, double to a Centurion, and the double of that to a Tribune, or *Præfectus Ala*, [a Brigadier]; that is the meaning of the *pro rata*; every Officer had *proportionably*. Now that this was the proportion, we learn from *Appian* in his *Civil Wars*, lib 2. p. 803. where giving an Account of *Julius Caesar's* Donative to his Soldiers, when *Pompey's* Party were quite broken, he says, εὐθύς δὲ τὴν θειάμβην δίνεimus, (τὰ ὑποχημῶτα πάνθ' ὑπερβάλλον), στρατιῶν μὲν ἀνὰ πνυτακιχλίας δραχμὰς Ἀπείκας, λοχαγῶ δ' αὐτῶ τὸ διπλάσιον, καὶ χιλιάρχῳ καὶ ἱππάρχῳ τὸ ἐν διπλάσιον; the same Sum of 5000 *Drachmes*. *Dio* also mentions the same Sum, p. 224. D. Afterwards this became the customary Donative, especially when Princes were willing to appear Noble. *Antony* in his Speech to his Soldiers at the Battle of *Philippi*, promises 5000 *Denares* to every private Soldier, five times so much to a Centurion, the double of that to a Tribune: δραχμὰς ἑκάσῳ στρατιῶτῃ πνυτακιχλίας. λοχαγῶ ὃ πνυτάκι τοσάυτας, χιλιάρχῳ ὃ τὸ διπλάσιον καὶ λοχαγῶ. If instead of πνυτάκι we should read διπλάσιον, it would be the same Donative that *Julius Caesar* gave before. The Sum of the private Soldiers *Plutarch* also consents to in his Life of *Antony*; saying that *Octavius* and *Antony* having promised ἑκάσῳ στρατιῶτῃ δραχμὰς πνυτακιχλίας, to every Soldier 5000 *Denares*, they were forced to levy heavy Taxes upon the Provinces to defray the Charge, after they had routed *Brutus* and *Cassius* at *Philippi*.

Appian.
Bell. Civil.
p. 1055.
Edit. Amstel.
Vit. M. Antoni,
p. 1694.
Edit. Step.

Pag. 43.

(r) That is as I lay it in the Year CLXIV. It seems evident to me by *Venus's* Coyns, that he did not go into the East, at least not get to *Antioch* till CLXII; in CLXIII he conquered *Armenia*; in CLXIV he imposed a King upon the *Armenians*, and got some Victories

Stories over the *Parthians* in *Babylonia*; in CLXV the War was completed, and he took the Title of **PARTH. MAX.**; in CLXVI he triumph'd. **PAX** is then upon the Coins of Him and *Marcus*; and **IMP. III.** and **IV.** that Year; **IMP. III.** for his Victory's the precedent Year, and **IMP. IV.** for his Triumph this Year. *F. Pagi* antedates the Triumph one Year, (in *Critic. ad Barentium ad annum CLXVI.*) but I think the Series of the Coins in *Mediolanum* runs strong against him. *Venus* was IV Years in the East, i. e. went in CLXII, and came back in CLXVI. *Fratre post quinquennium reverso*, say's *Capitolinus in Marco. cap. 13. i. e.* the first and last Years of the Expedition, which are incomplete, are taken for whole ones. For the same *Capitolinus in Vero, cap. 7.* says, *Egit per quadriennium Venus Hyemem Laodicea, aestatem apud Daphnen, reliquam partem Antiochiae.* If therefore *Venus* married *Lucilla* *Medio Belli Tempore*, as *Capitolinus* say's he did, (in *Marco, cap. 9.*) it must have been in the Year CLXIV.

(s) *Monf. D'Acier* in his *Life of Marcus*, p. 29. say's, the Plague begun at *Babylon*. But he misunderstood *Capitolinus* (in *Vero, cap. 8*) who says, *nata fertur Pestilentia in Babylonia.* *Babylonia* is the Countrey, not the City; in which Countrey, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* informs us, (lib. 23. cap. 6.) there were Three Cities more famous than the rest, *Babylon*, *Ctesiphon*, and *Seleucia*. *Ammian* calls that Country *Affyria*, which *Capitolinus* here calls *Babylonia*; and that the Plague began in *Seleucia*, is plain from these words of *Capitolinus* (*ibid.*) *Et hoc non L. Vero visio, sed Crassi, à quo contra fidem, Seleucia, quæ ut unicos milites nostros receperat, expugnata est*; signifying that this Plague was sent as a Judgment upon the *Romans* for their former Perfidy towards that City in the time of *M. Crassus*. The passages of *Ammian* and *Capitolinus* compared together, make the matter evident.

Page 49.

(t) In placing this Victory, which was obtained by *Periman* and *Pompeianus*, I follow *M. D'Acier*, who sets it before the first Expedition of *Marcus* against these Northern People. For after he went himself, he always managed that War in Person. *Dum Parthicum Bellum*

Page 51.

Bellum geritur, (say's Capit. in Marco, cap. 13) nactus est Marcomanicum, quod du, eorum qui aderant, arte suspensum est, ut finito jam Orientali Bello, Marcomanicum agi posset. That is, as I understand these words, These two Generals, by skirmishing with these People, with what Army they had, kept them from breaking in upon the Empire, till Marcus could come upon them with his whole Strength. In the Year CLXVIII Marcus and Lucius were saluted IMP. V. This *Mediobarbus* refers to *Avidius Cassius's* Victory over the *Bucali* in *Aegypt*; but besides that the *Bucali* rose after *Venus's* Death, as *Capitolinus* positively asserts, the advantage which *Cassius* got over these *Banditti* was not considerable enough either to deserve a Congiary to be given to the People, which was done that Year, or that these Emperors should put the memory of it into their Titles. The *Excerpts* of *Dio*, published by *Leunclavius*, rather make for us than not; Tho they are so lame, that very little as to Time can be ascertained from them one way or other. *Οἱς [Κέλ- vus] ὁ Μάρκος ἀντεπὶν, Πομπηϊανὸν τε καὶ Περτιναξ- ῶς ἑταίρους ἀντιέθισεν.* (*Dio* l. 71. p. 892. E.) i. e. when Marcus was preparing to oppose them, he made Pompeianus and Pertinax his Lieutenant Generals; who as *Dio* shew's, did considerable things Marcus was then preparing to go himself in the Year CLXVIII, when they got this Victory, but was hindred by the Plague; so in the mean time they did enough to confer upon him and Lucius the Title of IMP. V.

*Vie de M.
Aurel. Art.
10, 11.*

M. Tillemont has a Notion that Marcus and Lucius went twice against the Germans; once in CLXVI, when they wintred at *Aquileia*, and returned again to Rome in CLXVII; and a second time in CLXIX, when the death of *Venus* that Winter obliged Marcus to go back again to Rome with all possible expedition. This double Expedition before the death of *Venus*, is all a Fiction of *M. Tillemont's*, occasioned by a negligent perusal of the Coins of Marcus in *Osco's* Collection. Among the Medals of Marcus that have TR. P. XX. upon them, in the Year CLXVI, *Osco* in his second Edition places a Medal with this Inscription, M. ANTONINUS AUG. ARMENIA-
CUS,

CUS, and on the Reverse *only* PROfectio AUG. Now because *Osco* placed this Medal (who could not tell where to put it) among those that have TR. POT. XX. upon them, M. *Tillemont* presently fancy'd that *Marcus* went upon his first German Expedition this Year. But there is no TR. POT. upon that Medal at all, and so nothing of Time can be gathered from it. *Medieobarbus*, who knew not what to make of it, omitted it quite. If it be genuine, it belongs to the Year CLXVIII, when *Marcus* did indeed go upon that Expedition. On the contrary, the Medals of *Marcus* and *Lucius* having PAX upon them in the Year CLXVI, do plainly prove that the Emperors went upon no Military Expedition that Year. Besides, it appears fully from *Capitolinus*, (*in Vero, cap. 8.*) that *Verus* stayd a considerable time in Italy, after the *Parthian* War was ended, before the German War began. Nor do's any Historian (that I know of) mention two Expeditions of *Verus* against the Germans. M. *Tillemont* perplext himself with what he onely fancy'd he saw in *Osco*; and then to make that bear, he embroiled the whole History..

Pag. 54.

Pag. 58.

(u) This comes to 46, 875 l. of our Money.

(x) Tho *Pompeianus* was twice Consul, yet neither time was he Consul Ordinarius. He was once Consul Suffectus, A. D. CLXXVI, the Year after *Cassius's* Insurrection, as *Marcus* himself informs us in a Letter of his to the Senate, which is preserved by *Vulcatius Gallicanus* in his Life of *Cassius*; the other time was afterwards, but we know not the Year. T. *Claudius Pompeianus*, who was Consul in the Year CLXXIII, was another Man.

(y) This was in Imitation of those Honours which *Iberius* allow'd the Senate to decree to *Germanicus* after his Death. *Tacitus* Annal. lib 2. *Honores ut quis ante in Germanicwn, aut ingenio validus, reperti, decre-
tisque ut nomen ejus Saliari Carimine caneretur. — Ludos
Circenses eburna effigies praeiret.* The Honour lay in this, That the Names of their Deity's onely were recited in the *Carmen Saliare*, and onely the Images of the Gods were carried about in the *Ludi Circenses*. *Ibid.*

(z) Co-

Ibid.

(2) *Capitolinus*, who is no Observer of Time in his Writings, gives some Mark to guide us in fixing the Rising of these *Bucoli*, which makes it the more remarkable ; For after he had said (*cap. 20. vit. Marci*) *Sub M. Antonino hac sunt gesta post Fratrem* ; he names the Insurrection of these *Aegyptian Comberds*, amongst the things which he reckons up as done after *Lucius* was dead. Now *Lucius* died in December CLXIX ; after that, therefore it must have been ; and if there is any Stress to be layd upon the Order in which *Capitolinus* relates the Heads of *Marcus's* Actions, or the Events which happened in his Reign when *Vernus* was dead, it must have been in the Beginning of the Second German War.

Pag. 66.

(a) When *Marcus* lay here, he wrote the First Book of his *Meditations*. At the End of that Book, we find this Note, *Τὰ ἐν Κασάδοις τοῦς τοῦ Γερμανοῦ*. *Mr. Tillemont* in his Life of *Marcus* has a Notion, That these words were put here by *Marcus*, to testify his Thankfulness for his great Victory in CLXXIV ; because the Paragraph just before is all about those Benefits which *Marcus* acknowledged himself to have received from the Gods in the Course of his Life. Tho this be a pretty Thought of *M. Tillemont's*, yet I don't think it will hold. If *Marcus* had designed any such thing, he would have added something more, than barely *τὰ ἐν Κασάδοις*. Besides, the Second Book of his *Meditations* concludes thus, *τὰ ἐν Κασάνισσῳ*. These things were written at Carnuntum, i. e. whilst *Marcus* lay there. But we read of no extraordinary Deliverance which he had whilst he was at Carnuntum. All therefore that seems to be meant by these two Sentences, is onely to shew where these Two Books were written ; They are of the same sort with those Dates which are annex to *St. Paul's* Epistles ; Tho perhaps of greater Authority than some of them.

We may see however by these Notes, how this good Emperor was employ'd when he was in the Field with his Army's, or settled in his Winter-Quarters. The First Book of his *Meditations* was probably written in 174, when he had that terrible Battle with the *Quadi*, in which the Prayers of the *Christians* gave him the

the Victory. The whole Book is spent in taking notice whom, in the Course of his Life, he had been obliged to, and for what. It seem's to have been written before that Battle, because the Gods are not particularly thanked for their share in it; for to be sure he looked upon the *Christians* God, but as one of the Company whom he ignorantly Worshipped. A Man that could be thus employ'd in the hurry of a Camp, and during the Fatigues of such a War, must have alway's had an even Temper of Mind, which Labor broke not, nor could Accidents disturb.

(b) Thus far the Story is warrantable from Antiquity, and allow'd by *Joseph Scaliger*, *Hen. Valesius*, and all the Learned Men who have written upon this Subject, till *M. Larroque* the Younger, at the End of his Father's *Adversaria sacra*, which he publisht at *Leyden* in 8°. 1688, thought fit to call every thing but just the Victory itself in Question, and to allow nothing miraculous nor extraordinary in this whole matter.

Page. 68.

The Foundation of his Discourse is a misquoting of *Dion Cassius*, and with his good leave a wilful one. *Dion* tells the Story thus; 'The *Quadi* got the *Romans* into a disadvantageous Place, where they hammed them in, and would not fight, expecting when the *Romans* should sink thro Heat and Thirst, having blocked them up in such a manner, that they could come at Water on no side. Then whilst the *Romans* were in this distress, Νέφη πολλὰ ξηαίρης συνέβηαι, καὶ ὑετὸς πολὺς ἐκ ἀδιδεῖ χαλεπιάγη. καὶ γὰρ τοὶ λόγῳ ἔχει, Ἀρνῦσιν πνα μάγον Ἀργῦπτιον σωόντα τῷ Μάρκῳ ἄλλας τε πνὰς δαίμονας, καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν αἰεῖον ὅτι μάλιστα μαγισανείαις πὸν ἐπιχαλίσσας, καὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν ὀμβρὸν ἐπισπένσας. Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων ὁ Δίων φασίν. &c. 'Abundance of Clouds gather'd of a sudden, and a violent Rain fell upon them, not without the Assistance of God. For it is reported that *Armaphu*, an *Aegyptian* Magician, was with *Marcus*, and by his Sorceries called down several Demons, particularly the Aërial Mercury, by whose Aid he obtained Rain. Thus far *Dion*. By this one see's where *Dion* ends, and where his Abridger *Xiphilin* begins; who deservedly finds fault with *Dion* for ascribing this

Dis. l. 71.
p. 805. C. D.

Del-

Deliverance to Magic, and attributes it to the *Praiers* of the *Christians*, and tells us from *Apollinaris*, whom *Eusebius* cites, *Lib. V. cap. 5.* That there was a *Christian* Legion in the Army, called before the *Melitenian*, whose *Supplications* caused this salutary Storm ; from whence this Legion was afterwards called *Κελευόβολα*. This last part of the Story Learned Men have given their dissent to, the Name of the *Thund'ring Legion* being older than this Action, as appears from *Dion* himself ; and no other Legion was, as they say, then denominated from the Country where they quarter'd. But the *Christians* might call down Rain by their *Praiers* from Heaven, tho there had not been a whole Legion of them at that time in *Marcus's* Army ; and consequently *Tertullian's* and *Apollinaris's* Authority for the main of the Story may stand good. After *Xiphilin* has interposed thus far to find fault with *Dion*, he goes on thus ; *Περὶ τῆς ὁ Δίον ;* but *Dio* adds, *That when the Rain was falling, the Roman Soldiers took it in with their Mouths, their Shields, and their Helmets,* and so on, as I have related the Story at large already ; taking notice likewise, that Hail and Thunder fell upon the *Quadi* at the same time ; so that whilst some were moistned and drank, others were scorched, and died. Here lay the Wonder of the Storm, and *Dion* conceals no part of the Miracle, onely with a true *Gentile* Malignity he ascribes the Glory of it, rather to an *Aegyptian* Conjuror, than he will suffer the *Christians* to have any share of the Honour. Mr. *Larroque* joins in here with the Design of *Dion*, and that he may destroy the Reputation of the Miracle effectually, he cites him thus ; (I shall use his Latin, for he cites none of *Dion's* Greek, that he shall not say I wrong him.) *Fama est, addit Historicus, Arnuphim Magum Aegyptium qui una cum Marco fuerit, Mercurium illum qui est in Aëre aliosque Demonas quibusdam Artibus magicis invocavisse, ac per eos Pluviam extorsisse, Romanosque cum primum Pluvia caderet omnes suspensisse in Caelum, eamque in Ora recepisse, deinde Scutis Galeisque subiectis inde sorbisse largiter, &c.* *Larroquani Dissertat. p. 571.* This is told all in a Breath, as *M. Larroque* here cites *Dion* ; whereas in the Text it is thus ; *Fame*
(a) s

say's that Arnuphis wrought all by Magic; then comes Xiphilin's Confutation of that impious and foolish fancy, which we have seen already; after which Xiphilin say's, Περσίδησι δ' ὁ Δίων· *addit autem Dio.* Now the *Fama est*, belongs onely to the report of Arnuphis's conjuring; for Dion do's not disbelieve that miraculous Storm, but only questions the Report concerning Arnuphis; for Dion had sayd before, That the Rain fell ἐκ αἰθέρι, not without the immediate Interposition of God.

So Themistius long after, *Orai. XV. p. 191. Edit. Har-
dini.* Μένειναι τὸδε ἔργον ἐν τῷ πάλαιον, ἐπὶ νύοντα.
Ἀποτίθηται τὰ Ρωμαίων αὐτοκράτει· ὃ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ
τυμὸν ὁ εὐσεβὴς ἦν, τῷ στρατῷματὶ ὑπὸ διψῆς αὐτῷ
πυλῶν, αἰσθάνων τῷ χεῖρι ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸ ἐξανδρῶν,
πάντη ἔφη τῇ χειρὶ κρυπτεῖσθαι σε, καὶ ἐκάλεισσε τὸ ζῶν
ἀντὶρα, ἢ ζῶν ἐκ ἀρριλόμην· καὶ ἔπειτα κατήδεσσε τὸ θεὸν
τῇ εὐχῇ, ὥστε ἐξ αἰθείας ἦλθεν νεφέλαι ὑδροφορεῖσαι
τοῖς στρατῶσιν. Καὶ εἶδον ἐν τῇ γερῇ εἰκόνα τῷ ἔργῳ,
τὸ μὲν αὐτοκράτορα προσευχόμενον ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι, τὸ
στρατῶτα δὲ τὰ κέρατα τῷ ὀμβρῷ ὑποσθέντας, καὶ ἐμπι-
πλαμένους τῷ ὀμβρῷ τῷ θεοδότη. Τὸ αὐτὸν εἶναι ἀγα-
θὸν τοῖς ὑποκότοις δικαιοῦς τῷ ἡγεμῶνι. The Tra-
dition, we see, of the Miracle was unquestionable;
and Pictures were preserved of it even to Themistius's
time, who calls *Marcus* here *Pius* of purpose, not out
of mistake, as Learned Men have thought, there be-
ing Inscriptions still extant, which give him that Ti-
tle as well as his Father. See *Reynesius's Inscriptions*,
p. 311. Besides, the Coyn's which were stamped of
him after his Death, have most of them this Inscrip-
tion, DIVO. M. ANTONINO. PIO. *Mediobarb. &
Occ.* And to put it farther out of doubt, there are
several Medals in their Collections, coyn'd by *Seve-
rus*, wherein he is called DIVI Marci PII Filius.

This same Tradition is also attested by *Claudian* a
Gentile Writer, who lived after Themistius, in his Poem
upon the VIth Consulate of the Emperor Honorius: His
Words are these;

Nec tantis Patriae studiis ad Templum vocatus

Clemens Marce redis, cum gentibus undique cinctum

M

Exord.

*Exiit Hesperiam paribus Fortuna periculis.
 ~Lans ibi nulla Ducum : nam flammens imber in Hostium
 Decidit : hunc dorso trepidum flammante ferebat
 Ambustus seniper : hic tabescente solutus
 Subsidit Galas, liquefactaque fulgure Cuspis
 Canduit, & subitis fluxere vaporibus Enses.
 Tunc contenta Polo Mortalis nescia Teli
 Pugna fuit. Chaldaea Mago seu Carmina ritu
 Armavere Deos : seu, quid reor, omne Tonantis
 Obsequium Marci mores potuere mereri.*

So also Capitolinus in Marco, cap. 24. Pulver ab
 celo precibus suis, contra Hostium machinamentum extersit,
 suis pluvia impetrata cum sit laborarent. The Miracle
 was believed by the Heathens unanimously ; the
 Cause of it onely was in dispute. Therefore Dion
 comes with his *Fama est Arumphim*, &c. And Claudian
 say's, *Chaldaea mago seu Carmina ritu Armavere Deos :*
seu, quid reor, omne Tonantis Obsequium Marci mores po-
tuere mereri. This shew's Mr. Larroque's Partiality,
 who putting things together, which Xiphilin puts
 asunder, without taking notice that they are asunder
 in his Text, makes Dion say what he never intended ;
 the *Fama est* relating onely to the conjuring of *Arum-*
phis, and to nothing else.

The Christians Tradition, That their Prayers
 wrought this Deliverance, is as exprefs and as well
 grounded as that of the Gentiles, for the Reality of
 the Miracle. Tertullian, in his *Apology for the Christi-*
ans, cap. 5. say's, *Nos è contrario edimus Protectorem ;* *Sic*
Littera M. Aurelii gravissimi Imperatoris requirantur, qu-
bus illam Germanicam fidem Christianorum forte militum
precationibus impetrato imbri, discussam contestatur. *Qu-*
sicut palam ab ejusmodi hominibus penam dimovit, ita
alio modo palam disperfit, adjecta etiam accusatoribus dam-
natione, & quidem tetriciore. He is positive about the
 Emperor's Letters in behalf of the Christians, and
 consequently is positive concerning the Opinion
 which caused those Letters to be written, that the
 Christians Prayers then did Service ; he will not how-
 ever absolutely say that it was onely their Prayers
 which wrought this Deliverance, and therefore he
 mollify's

mollify's it by saying *Christianorum forte militum*. That perhaps there proceeded from Humility, not Distrust: For when he speaks to *Scapula* about the same business, he is more positive; *Marcus quoque Aurelius in Germanica expeditione Christianorum Militum orationibus ad Deum factis, imbres in siti illa impetravit*. He lived too near the Time, to assert things of this Nature without good grounds. This Action happen'd in CLXXIV; and he presented his Apology in CCV. His second mentioning it shew's how certain he was of what he sayd. Since therefore we have so good grounds for this Opinion, we ought not tamely to give it up. There is not a more illustrious Testimony for our Religion in all the Roman History, and therefore this will not be thought a Digression from my main Design, that I have endeavoured to set this matter in its true Light, and to vindicate it from the little Insults of Mr. *Larrogue*, who pity's and despises all those who after they had read what he say's, should ever dare to believe the received Account of this miraculous Storm again.

Now not to mention M. *Tillemont*, who is a judicious and a discerning Writer, who in his Life of M. *Antoninus* gives an entire Credit to this Story, I shall farther observe, That two very Learned Men of this last Age, one of whom is still living, and the other very lately dead, F. *Harduin*, and F. *Pagi*, believe it. F. *Harduin*, in his Notes upon the above-mentioned Passage in *Themistius*, gives Credit to what *Apollinaris* Ly's of the XIIth, or the *Thundring Legion*, as if their Prayers called down this Rain. *Apollinaris* might not know that it was called *Fulminifera* before; It was a natural mistake for him to think it was so called from the Thunder which the Prayers of the Christians in this Legion called down upon the *Quadi*. F. *Pagi* in his *Critica in Baronium ad annum CLXXIV*, tho he contends none of the difficulty's which this History is attended with, yet he questions not but the Christian's Prayers procured this Rain. The greatest Difficulty in his Opinion is, how *Marcus* could grant such an Edict in favor of the Christians in CLXXIV, and yet suffer such a Persecution to be raised against them so

Dion Cassi-
us, p. 564. B.
Τὸ δὲ δὴ
κατὰ
[σπαρτο-
δον] τὸ ἐν
καππαδο-
κίᾳ τὸ ἐν
παυροπό-
λει.

soon after in CLXXVII, at *Lyons* and *Vienna* in *Gauls*. To this he makes, as he thinks, a very satisfactory Answer; That the Populace of great City's would very often, if the Governors of Provinces would side with them, persecute the Christians upon old Laws, or upon other pretences, when they met together upon public Occasions.

Critic. in
Baron. ad
an. m.
CLXXVII
num. 3.

But this Difficulty may be much more easily solved another way. It is not certain that that *Gallie* Persecution happen'd in CLXXVII. I am inclinable to believe with two very great Men of our Nation, the Right Reverend the Bishop of *Worcester*, and Mr. *Dodwell*, the first of whom *F. Pagi* calls *Anglia sua Ornamentum*, that it happen'd ten years before, in CLXVII. *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon* sets this Persecution at the Year CLXVII, and in his *Ecclesiastical History* at the Year CLXXVII. The Bishop of *Worcester*, in a Letter of his to Father *Pagi* (Critic. in *Baronium ad annum CLXXVII*.) observes that this alteration did not happen thro a fault of the Copies, but that *Eusebius* changed his mind: For whereas in his *Chronicon* he had set this Persecution in CLXVII, he brought it down afterwards in his *History* to CLXXVII, that it might suit with the Age of *P. Eleutherus*, who according to him was not Pope till the Year CLXXVII; wherein, say's that excellent Person, *Eusebius* was mistaken; for *Eleutherus* was Pope in the Year CLXVII, and consequently the first date of the Persecution, which was the right, may still stand good. Mr. *Dodwell*, in his *Appendix* to Bishop *Pearson's Posthuma*, do's upon very good Grounds make *Soter* (the immediate Predecessor of *Eleutherus*) to have lived several Years in *Pius's* time. Now all Men are agreed that *Soter* was not Pope above nine Years and odd Months. Consequently *Eleutherus* was Bishop of *Rome* in CLXVII, and then the Churches of *Gauls* might send to him as Bishop of *Rome*, which they did at the time when they writt to the Churches of *Asia* and *Phrygia*, an Account of the Sufferings of their Brethren at *Lyons* and *Vienna*. This *F Pagi* will not allow, but brings down *Soter* to CLXX, making him succeed *Anicetus* in CLXI. Besides, according to Mr. *Dodwell*, this Persecution might

might happen in CLXVII, whereas it could not possibly happen in CLXXVII; because CLXVII was the Year in which the *Drusian Games* were solemnized at *Lyon*, which they were not in CLXXVII. They were instituted by *Drusus* in Honor of *Augustus* A. U. C. DCCXLIV; and ev'ry IVth Year they were celebrated, like the *Olympic Games* in *Greece*. Now A. U. C. DCCCCXX agree's with A. C. CLXVII, in which these Games were certainly celebrated. Consequently they were not celebrated in CLXXVII, and yet the Confessors say in their Letter, that this Persecution happen'd ἐν τῇ ἐορτῇ τῶν πεντηήρων, during the Solemnity. This Argument is unanswerable, if the Games were Quadriennial. Mr. *Dodwell* onely say's, *Pentaëtericos fuisse probabile est, i. e. quarto quoque anno absoluto, quinto ineunte rediisse, ut pentaëtericos explicat Censorinus. Dissert. de paucit. Mart. inter Cyprianicas. §. 36.* The mischief is, here is no positive Authority brought to prove them Quadriennial; and *F. Pagi* say's (ad annum CLXXVII,) that the most Learned *De Marca* has in his Discourse *de Primatu Lugdunensi*, shewn that they were celebrated every Year. What *De Marca's* Arguments are, I know not, having never seen the Book my self. If they are good, the Argument from the time when the *Drusian Games* were celebrated, falls. However, I am satisfied that this Persecution was in CLXVII. First, because *Eleutherus* was then Pope. Secondly, *Eusebius* assigns that Year in his *Chronicon*, and alter'd it in his *History*, onely because he could not make it agree with his Accounts of the Age of *P. Eleutherus*. Lastly, *Marcus* would never have sent such a Rescript against any Christian, (as that mentioned against *Attalus*, one of the *Lions* Martyrs, in the Letter of the *Gallic Confessors*,) in the Year CLXXVII, after he had sent such Letters in their behalf three Years before, in CLXXIV.

All this put together, is, I think, sufficient to vindicate the Reality of this Story. Because Legends have crept into Ecclesiastical History, every thing is not therefore presently to be disbelieved. Those that openly declare against all Miracles but what are recorded in Holy Writ, give too great a Handle to

others to say they are as little satisfied with the Miracles they find in Scripture, as with those which are related by the earliest Historians of the Church.

pag. 72.

(c) In *Dio* 'tis but *τριάκοντα ὀκτώ*, Thirty eight Furlongs; but sure this cannot be the true Reading. What signify's a Prohibition of 38 Furlongs, that is Four Miles and a half? What a man may walk in two hours time, will be no Restraint to an Army when they march: But 308 (*τριακόσια*) Furlongs, almost 40 Miles, would be a Curb; and the double of that, above 70 Miles, would be yet a greater; because then the Countrey between them might be planted with other Nations, which might be a Barrier between them and the *Danube*. I have ventured therefore to substitute *τριακόσια* instead of *τριάκοντα*, which a Copier might easily mistake for one another.

pag. 73.

(d) There is no Inconsistency in the Accounts of *Gallicanus* and *Dion Cassius*. The Greeks frequently call a Man but by one of his Names, tho he has two or three. *Cassius's* Father's Name might probably be *Avidius Severus Heliodorus*; so *Herodes Atticus's* full Name was *Tibertius Claudius Herodes Atticus*. From being a Teacher of Rhetoric he might go into the Army. Sophists in that Age were frequently Ministers of State; and some perhaps might be Men of the Sword too, tho we should want direct Instances to prove it. *Capitolinus* mentions one *Heliodorus* a Son of *Cassius*, who was banisht after his Father's death. That shew's *Heliodorus* to have been a common Name in that Family.

pag. 89.

Vie de M.
Aurele,
Note 19.

(e) *M. Tillemont* looks upon these Letters of *Marcus* and *Faustina* to be supposititious. His Reasons are, I think, insufficient. He fancy's that according to these Letters *Marcus* was in *Italy* when he first heard the New's of *Cassius's* Rebellion, which they do not any where suppose. He cannot believe that *Marcus* would pass thro *Italy* in his way out of *Germany* into the *East*, it being so very much about, and himself so much in hast; or if he did, *M. Tillemont* cannot be persuaded that he would pass by *Rome* when he was so near it. Now all this is easily comprehended. When *Marcus* left *Germany*, he was not certain which Road *Cassius* would take; and *Italy*, the Center of the Empire,

pire, was first to be secured. That could best be done when he was present. Perhaps he would not go to Rome, least he should be stopped. Perhaps he had many other Reasons, which we cannot so much as guess at. *Albanum, Formiae, and Capua*, all Places mentioned in the Letters, were in the Road to *Brun-
dysium*, at least not much out of it. *Commodus* put on the *Toga Virilis* in *Germany* in *June*, when his Father was there. But then there is no inconveniency in as-
serting that *Marcus* was in *Campania* in *July*, where he did not presently hear that *Cassius* was killed; and then it was that most of these Letters were written.

(f) *Vulcatius Gallicanus* in *Cassio*, cap. 7. *Senatus illam Hostem appellavit, bonaque ejus proscripsit; quae Antoninus in privatum Aerarium congeri noluit; quare, Senatus praecipiente, in Aerarium publicum sunt relata.*

Pag. 92.

(g) *Commodus* was invested with the *Tribunitial Power* at the Desire of the Senate, upon the New's of *Cassius's* death. *Commodo Tribunitiam Potestatem rogamus.* *Vol. Gallican.* in *Cassio*, cap. 13.

Pag. 94.

(h) *Mr. D'Acier* say's *Marcus* began first with *Aegypt*. He has no Authority for this, that I know of; and *Capitolinus* seems to infer the contrary by these words, *Noluit Antiochiam videre cum Syriam peteret. — Fuit Alexandriae; clementer cum iis agens. Postea tamen Antiochiam vidit; in Marco*, cap. 26. The Order of these words, which are within four Lines of one another, implies that *Marcus* was twice in *Syria*, once to settle matters before he went into *Aegypt*, when he would not go to *Antioch*; and afterwards upon his return, taking it in his way home, when he accepted of the Submissions of the *Antiochians*, and was content to honour them with his Presence.

Ibid.

Vie. de M.

Ant. p. 94.

(i) *Dio* say's, that some attributed this generous Action to *Marcus* himself. But 'tis not likely it would have ever been attributed to *Marcus Verus*, if it had been done by *Marcus*. I rather think, that after *Marcus Verus* had destroy'd what Papers he could lay hold of, others fell into *Marcus's* Hands when he was in *Syria*, which he also burnt, as scorning to be outdone in his darling Virtue by his Lieutenant *Verus*.

Pag. 95.

Pag. 97.

(k) The *Itinerary* which goes under the Name of *Antoninus*, mentions it in the way between *Byzantium* and *Antioch*, by the Name of *Faustianopolis*: Its distance of XVIII Miles from *Tyana* determines its Situation to have been in *Cappadocia*.

Pag. 98.

Edit. Spak-
hemii.

(l) How far this will go to clear *Faustina*, I dare not assert. It was necessary to be said in vindication of *Marcus*, who certainly loved her, and was, I question not, persuaded that she loved him. And had her Infamy been so flagrant then, as it appears to us to have been; one would think it incredible that *Marcus* should have had so great a concern for her. But here his best Friends do not excuse him. *Julian* in his *Cæsars* (p. 312, 333 — 335.) makes *Marcus* his Hero. He speaks of him with Love and Reverence, which he does not of any of his other Predecessors. Yet he cannot forbear to introduce *Silenus* playing upon *Marcus*, for consecrating his Wife, and appointing his Son *Commodus* to be his Successor, when he had so worthy a Son-in-Law already. The first indeed is inexcusable. *Faustina* certainly had no Virtues which even to a Pagan's opinion could merit Consecration. It is enough if something can be found, for her Husband's sake, to soften the load she labors under. But to make a Goddess of her, and to erect a Temple to her Memory, is an Action which appears so very horrible, that nothing can palliate it, but a belief that *Marcus* was wholly in the dark, as to the Wickedness of his Wife.

Pag. 101.

(m) Capitol. in Marco, cap. 23. *Fama fuit sane, quod sub Philosophorum specie, quidam Rempublicam venerent, & privatos, quod ille purgavit.* Dion likewise takes notice of this Abuse. Παμπληθεὶς φιλοσοφεῖν ἐπλάττοντο, ἢ ὑπὸ αὐτῷ πλετίζων (p. 815. D.) *Cassius* seems to have layd this to *Marcus's* Charge, in his Letter to his Son, *Audisti Praefectum Praetorii nostri Philosophi, ante iridium quam fieret, Mendicium & Pauperem, sed subito Divitem factum.* Vulc. Gall. in Cassio extremo. It was no wonder that swarms of pretended Philosophers should strowle about under a Prince who gave so much Encouragement to those that were really what they pretended to be. And since *Marcus* repress'd

represent'd that Grievance when once he became sensible of it, it ought not to be layd to his charge.

(n) Vul. Gallican. in Cassio, cap. 3. *Iturus ad Bellum Marcomanicum*, [Marcus] *timentibus cunctis ne quid fatale proveniret, rogatus sit, non adulatione, sed serio, ut precepta Philosophiae ederet: nec ille timuit, sed per ordinem Pavaenescon per triduum disputavit.* I have set this at his last Expedition against the *Marcomanni*, because it was then onely by reason of his Age and Infirmitie's that the People had reason to fear he might never return. It is uncertain how much of *Marcus's Meditations* which are extant, were written during this last Expedition. The first Book was written when he lay near the River *Grannus*, which was in the second German War. *Carnuntum*, where he writ the second Book, was his Head-Quarters in both.

Ibid.

(o) Mr. D'Acier say's it was *Atidius Cornelianus* whom the *Smyrniots* received into their Town, after his defeat by *Volagesus*. He has no Authority for it that I know of. The General whom they received was dead, and his Body brought in by the Soldiers that escaped; and *Aristides* say's expressly, That his Countrymen buried the Body: Τὸν μὲν Στρατήγον κομίσαντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν, θάψουσιν εἰσω τῇ πυλῶν. (Tom. 2. p. 295.) *Atidius Cornelianus* was not killed, but onely routed; *Fugata Atidio Corneliano, qui Syriam tunc administrabat.* Capit. (in Marco, cap. 8.) But *Severianus* who commanded in *Armenia*, was killed, as *Dio* informs us, from whom alone we have an Account of that Action. (Dio. p. 802. B.) It was onely Inadvertency in Mr. D'Acier; for in another place (p. 26.) he say's, *Les Parthes entrèrent dans la Syrie, d'où ils chasserent Attilius Cornelianus, qui en étoit Gouverneur.* *Aristides* names no body, onely say's that the *Smyrniots* bury'd the dead General.

Pag. 103.
Vie de M.
Antonin.
p. 102.

(p) Ἡρώδης Κασίω, Ἐμμένε.

(q) Capit. in Marco, cap. 27. *Orientalibus rebus ordinatus Athenis fuit; & initialia Cereris adiit, ut se innocentem probaret.*

Pag. 104.
Pag. 105.

(r) *Capitolinus* ascribes this Action to *Antoninus Pius*, (in Pius, cap. 11.) *Rhetoribus & Philosophis per omnes provincias, & honores & salaria detulit.* But *Dio* gives

Pag. 106.

Marcus

Marcus wholly the Honor of it. 'Ο δὲ Μάρκος ἐλθὼν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ μυηθεὶς, ἔδωκε μὲν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις πρῶτος, ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις διδασχάλας ἐν τῇ Ἀθήναις ἐν πάσῃ λόγων παιδείᾳ μῖλλον ἐτήσιον ῥέτρον. (p. 814. A.) It is probable the Institution was begun by *Pius*, and the Establishment was not fully settled till *Marcus* was at *Athens*. *Tatian* in his *Oration against the Greeks*, mentions this Establishment, which confirms my Conjecture. For he was at *Rome* when *Justin Martyr* disputed with *Crescens* the Philosopher in *Pius's* time; and therefore since he speaks of these Professors having ἑξακοσίαις χροῦς, i. e. 15000 *Denares* or *Drachmes*, as a Yearly Salary (p. 157. D.) it is likely that *Pius* first made the Settlement, which *Marcus* confirmed.

Ibid.

(s) *Philostratus* and *Lactius* fix the Sum to 10000 *Denares* or *Drachmes* per *Annum*. But *Tatian* setting it at Six hundred *Aurei*, which is just 15000 *Drachmes*, it's probable that they express themselves by a round Number on purpose. And if *Salmasius's* Correction of a Passage in *Eumenius* be true, the thing will be entirely out of doubt. *Eumenius* say's in his Speech to the *Præfect* of *Gaul*, That *Constantius Chlorus*, when he settled him Professor of Rhetoric at *Cleves*, *Salarius liberalissimi Principis in sexcentis millibus nummum accipere jusserunt*. Here for *Sexcentis*, *Salmasius* puts *Sexagenis*. (Not. in *Capit. Pium. cap. 11.*) *Sexagena millia nummum*, or 60 *Sestertia*, are 15000 *Denares*, or 600 *Aurei*, which *Tatian* makes to have been the Salary settled by *Pius*. Six hundred *Sestertia*, or 6000 *Aurei*, is a Sum too great for the Salary of any Professor at any time, and much more at such a place as *Cleves*, where *Eumenius* taught.

Pag. 108.

Ibid.

(t) That is, about 6 l. 5 s. of our Money.

(u) *Dio's* words warrant this Exposition. Speaking of *Hadrian* upon his first coming to *Rome*, after he was Emperor, he say's, Ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν Παῦλῳ, ἀφῆκε τὸ ὀφειλόμενον τῷ τε βασιλικῷ καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ τῶν Παυλιῶν, ἐκκαταχερστὴν οἰκίαν χρόνον, ἀφ' ἧς τε, καὶ μέχρις ἧς τηρηθῆσθαι τὸ ἐμμελεν. (p. 791. C) The μέχρις ἧς shew's that *Hadrian's* Liberality had an equal Prospect and Retrospect of XVI Years, including that Year in which

which the *past* Debts were cleared, into both Terms; which comprize the last XV compleat Years of *Trajan*, and the first compleat XV Years of *Hadrian*. *Dion's* Account of *Marcus's* Charity still further confirms this Exposition. Ταῦτα τε ἔπραξε, καὶ πῆς ὀφείλει π τῶ βασιλικῶ καὶ τῶ δημοσίῳ, πᾶσι πάντα τὰ ὀφειλόμενα ἀφῆκεν, ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἑξ καὶ πεσσεύκοντα, χαίεις τῶν ἐκ καὶ δεκά τε Ἀδριανῷ, καὶ πάντα τὰ ὀφεί αὐτῶν χάμματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ θῆναι ἐκέλευσε. (p. 814. B.) From *Hadrian's* coming to the Empire, to this Year of *Marcus*, CLXXVII, were just LX Years. *Dion* counts the Years of both sides: So after he had taken out XV, he calls the remainder XLVI. His particular Exception of *Hadrian's* XV Years, seems to put the former Explication beyond dispute.

This Interpretation seem's very much perplex'd to Mr. *Tillemont* (*Vie de Hadrien*, Note 3.) He can't understand how *Hadrian* could remit Debts to come, by the same Deed in which he remitted Debts that were *past*: And yet he own's that *Dion Cassius's* words will scarce bear any other sense. If he had attended to what *Dion* sayd in those words in which he gives an Account of *Marcus's* Liberality, by which he remitted the Debts of XLV Year's *past* at one stroke, he would have found that *Dion's* words can not well be otherways understood. The Case was this: *Hadrian* in the Year CXVIII remitted the Casualty's due to the Public for XV Years *past*: These were the *Reliqua Vetera* mentioned in his Coin's, and in the Inscription which *Lepidus* and *Curius* Consuls in *Caracalla's* time, set up in his Temple, which was then by them repaired. Now when *Hadrian* remitted the Casualty's of the XV Year's *past* he ordered that the like Casualty's of the next XV Year's to come, should also be remitted, as they should happen to be due. We are beholden to *Dion* for making this matter clear. His Authority is unquestionable, considering his Quality. and the time when he lived. This I think will sufficiently justify my Interpretation of *Dion's* words; and indeed it is no more than what *Joseph Scaliger* had say'd before. I shall onely farther take notice, that *Commodus* afterwards made this Charity of *Marcus's* in a good

a good measure useless, by claiming all these Debts from the respective Creditors, that he could find had ever been charged in the Account-Books of the Treasury. We owe the Knowledge of this piece of History to *Ausonius*, who in his Panegyric to *Gratianus* commends that Emperor for imitating *Trajan*, (who first began this sort of Charity, but did it only in part) and *Marcus* in this kind of Benefaction. *Eiceras & Trajanus olim; sed partibus retentis, non habebat tantam oblectationem concessi debiti portio, quanta suberat amantitudo servati. Et Antoninus indulserat, sed Imperii non beneficii Successor invidit, qui ex Documentis Tabulisque Populi condonata repetivit.* *Ausonius* did not mention *Hadrian's* Liberality, probably, for two Reasons. 1. Because it was greater than *Gratian's*, and so the mention of it would have eclipsed the Glory of the Emperor whom he was to commend. Especially since in the Second place it was entire, which *Trajan's* was not, and stood good to the last, which *Marcus's* did not.

Pag. 109.

(*) RELIQUA. VETERA. HS. NOVIES. MILL. ABOLITA S. C. (Which reduced to our Money, comes to about 7,031,250 l.) *Imperator stans, dextra facem tenens, quâ Syngraphas adurit, sinistra Sceptum.* *Mediobarb* p. 170. *Occo Edit.* *Augustan.* p. 227.

Ibid.

(y) PAX. AUG. *Figura stans, face ardente Syngraphas inflammans.* *Mediob.* p. 226.

Pag. 110.

(z) The exact Times when *Marcus* distributed all these Liberality's, are not easily fixt. His Coins, which give us the most light, fail at last. I have set them thus. 1. A. C. CLXI. His first Congiary. LIB. AUGUSTORUM, in nummis *Marci & Veri* apud *Mediobarb.* ad annum CLXI. 2. A. C. CLXV. nummi *Marci*. LIBERAL. AUG. TR. P. XIX IMP. III. COS. III. S. C. nummi *Veri*. LIBERAL. AUG. TR. P. V. IMP. II. COS. II. S. C. This was for *Verus's* Victories in *Parthia*, where he took *Seleucia*, and *Cresiphon*. *Mediob.* ad annum. CLXV. 3. A. C. CLXV. nummi *Marci*. TR. P. XX. COS. III. LIB. AUG III. *Mediob.* ad annum prædict. There are no Medals mentioning this Liberality extant of *Verus*. This seems

to

to me to relate to the Triumph of *Marcus* and *Verus* over the *Parthians*. PAX upon the Coin's this Year, shews the War was quite over; and Congiary's were almost constant attendants upon Triumphs. 4. A.C. CLXVIII. *nummi Marci*. CONG. AUG. III. TR. P. XXII. IMP. III. COS. III. S. C. *nummi Veri* CONG. AUG. III. TR. P. VII. IMP. III. COS. III. S. C. *Mediobarbus* sets this Coyn at the Year CLXVII, but it refers to this Year, because *Marcus* was not TR. P. XXII. in CLXVII. whereas *Verus* was both TR. P. VII. and VIII. this Year. I would refer this Congiary to the Victory obtained over the *Germans* by *Pertinax* and *Pompeianus*. 5. A.C. CLXVIII. *nummi Marci*. M. ANTONINUS. AUG. TR. P. XXIII. LIBERAL. AUG. V. COS. III. no Coyns of this Liberality extant of *Verus* who died in December this Year. For the Victory over the *Germans* by *Marcus* and *Verus*. 6. A.C. CLXX. *nummi Marci*. M. ANT. AUG. TR. POT. XXIII. COS. III. LIBERAL. AUG. VI. Perhaps for the Marriage of *Lucilla* with *Pompeianus*; or for the defeat of the *Bucoli* by *Cassius*, which was after *Verus's* Death: tho' I rather think the former. 7. A.C. CLXXV. *nummi Marci*. M. ANT. AUG. TR. P. XXIX. IMP. VII. COS. III. S. C. LIBERALITAS. AUG. VII. This relates to the Congiary given this Year to the People, upon *Commodus's* putting on the *Toga Virilis*. Capitolin. in Marco, *Filio Commodo Togam virilem dedit: quare Congiarium Populo dedit.* cap. 22. These Words determine this matter against *Card. Noris*, who thought there had not been a Congiary this Year. 8. A.C. CLXVI. Upon the Triumph over the *Germans*. This *Dio* says, (pag. 814. A.) was the greatest Largess that *Marcus* ever gave, or the People ever receiv'd to that time. The Coyn's give us no light, with the TR. POT. XXX. of *Marcus*, which answers to this Year, we find LIBERAL. AUG. VII. which either was stamped before the Triumph (which was Dec. 22.) and so relates to the Liberality given the former Year; Or else instead of LIB. VII. it should be LIB. VIII. which may easily be. 9. A.C. CLXXVII. *nummi Commodi ad hunc annum*. IMP. L. AUREL. COMMOD. AUG. GERM. SARM.

Mediob. ad An. 170.

Apud Mediob. p. 225.

SARM. TR. P. II. COS. LIBERALITAS. AUG. S. C. Upon *Commodus's* Marriage with *Crispina*. *Capitol. in Marco Cap. 27. Filio suo Bruttii Prasentis filiam junxit; quare etiam Congiarium Populo dedit* The Coyn's of *Marcus* in this Year are perplexed: LIB. VII. is joined in several Coyn's with TR. POT. XXXI. of *Marcus*; and to one there is LIB. VIII. It is too great liberty to mend these Medal's, and make them LIB. VIII. yet the Authorities are plain for all these, and I believe the Skilful in these Matters, will think the Year, and the Causes of all of them are rightly assigned.

The Curious will observe that there were no Congiary's between CLXX., and CLXXV., tho' *Marcus's* Victory's were during that Interval the most considerable. The Treasury was then low, and he never loved to oppress the People, let the occasion have been what it would.

Pag. 111.

(a) *Capitolinus in Marco, cap. 27. Triennio Bellum postea cum Marcomannus egit. Lampridius in Commod, cap. 12. Iterum profectus in Germaniam III. Non Commodias, Orfito & Ruso Coss. Orfitus and Rufus were Consuls, A. C. CLXXVIII. and Marcus died March 17. CLXXX. So that the Triennium of Capitolinus is utrinque incompletum; which is a common way of reckoning amongst Historians. From Aug. 3. CLXXVIII. when Marcus went the last time into Germany, to March 17. CLXXX. when he died, is 19 Months and odd days.*

Ibid.

(b) The several times that *Marcus* was stiled IMP., with the particular Reasons for which that Title was severally multiply'd, are as difficult to assign, as the times of his Congiary's. I think they may be fixt thus.
1. A. C. CLXI. nummi Marci. IMP. ANTONINUS AUG. COS. III. IMP. Mediobarb. ad Annum CLXI. For his assuming the Empire upon *Pius's* Death.
2. A. C. CLXIII. nummi Marci. M. ANTONINUS AUG. IMP. II. TR. P. XVII. Upon the reducing of *Armenia* by *Statius Priscus*.
3. A. C. CLXV. Upon *Verus's* Victories in *Parthia*; *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon* being taken that Year.
4. A. C. CLXVI. as I believe, upon the Triumph.
5. A. C. CLXVIII. nummi Marci. TR. P. XXII.

P. XXII. IMP. V. Upon the Victory of *Pompeianus* and *Pertinax* over the *Germans*? 6. *A. C. CLXVIII. num. Marci. TR. P. XXIII. IMP. VI.* Upon *Marcus's* Victory over the *Germans*, when he and *Vorus* went in Person against them in the first *German War*. 7. *A. C. CLXXIV. nummi Marci. M. ANTON. TR. P. XXVIII. IMP. VII.* Upon the great Victory over the *Quadi*, when the *Praiers* of the *Christians* obtained *Rain*. 8. *A. C. CLXXV. num. Marc. TR. P. XXIX. IMP. VIII.* Upon his quelling the *Insurrection* of *Avid. Cassius*. 9. *A. C. CLXXVIII. num. Marc. TR. P. XXXI. IMP. VIII.* Upon a Victory over the *Quadi*, in the third *German War*. 10. *A. C. CLXXIX. nummi Marc. TR. P. XXXII. IMP. X.* Upon the Victory over the *Germans*, obtained by *Paternus*. (*Dio p. 814. E.*)

(c) *Capit. in Marco, cap. 6. Tantumque apud Pium Pag. 116. valuit, ut nunquam quenuquam sine eo facile promoverit.*

(d) *Idem ibid. Tribunitia Potestate donatus est, atque Pag. 121. Imperio extra urbem Proconsulari, addito jure quintae Relationis.*

(e) *Idem ibid. cap. 11. Habuit secum Praefectos, quo- Pag. 124. rum & auctoritate, & periculo, semper Jura distavit. Vid. Salmus. in locum.*

(f) *Absens Populi Romani voluptates curari vehemen- Pag. 126. ter praecepit per ditissimos Editores. Cap. in Marco, c. 23.*

(g) *Cum Populo non aliter egit, quam est actum sub Ci- Pag. 130. vitate libera. Capit. in Marco, cap. 12.*



T H E
L I F E
O F

M. Commodus Antoninus,
Emperor of *R O M E.*

C H A P. I.

*Of the Actions of Commodus, from
his Birth to the Execution of Ma-
ternus.*

S. I. **M** Commodus Antoninus was A.C.
born at *Lanuvium*, Aug. 161.
31. 161. in the first Year ~
of his Father's Reign, in the Consulat. Lamprid.
of his Father *M. Antoninus*, and his in Com-
modo,
N Uncle esp. 1.

A.C.

161.



Capit. in
Marco,
cap. 8.

Lamprid.
in Com-
modo,
cap. 1.

Ibid.

Uncle *L. Verus*. That Year, which was remarkable upon the Account of *Marcus's* Accession to the Empire, was also taken notice of, because of the extraordinary overflowing of the *Tiber*, which destroy'd abundance of Buildings that lay near the Water-side, and drowned great Numbers of Cattle. This, with the dammage that the Country sustained, occasion'd a Famine that grievously oppress'd the People of *Rome*. The Misery's which the Empire afterwards suffer'd under *Commodus*, made the Calamity's that accompany'd his Birth, be look'd upon as ominous. It was sayd also that *Faustina* his Mother dreamed when she was with Child of him, That she was delivered of two Serpents, and one of them much fiercer than the other. But in all probability this Story was made afterwards. *Commodus* had a Twin-Brother, who dy'd when he was but four Years old. He was called *Commodus*, in Complement to his Uncle *Lucius*, and his Brother was called *Antoninus*, after his Father, who took that Name immediately upon *Pius's* Death.

§. 2. As soon, as he was capable of Instruction, *Marcus* took care to have him

~~him~~ educated suitably to his Quality and his Hopes. If there had been no Accounts of this preserved, yet we might be assured that *Marcus*, whose own Education had been so extraordinary, and who knew by his own experience the great Importance of a Prince's being early formed to Virtue, would not be wanting in a matter of so great consequence. Accordingly, *Onesicrates* was appointed to teach *Commodus* Greek; and *Antistius Capella* instructed him in *Latin*; and *Ateius Silius* taught him Rhetoric. What other Teachers he had, we know not, but it is probable that some of those that had instructed *Marcus* so well before, many of whom were still alive, were now intrusted by him with the Care of his Son.

A.C.

161.

Lamprid.
ibid.

§. 3. *Commodus* was the first Prince since the Foundation of the *Roman* Monarchy, that was born after his Father was Emperor. From his Infancy he had been bred as Heir Apparent to the Empire; and the Honours that were early conferred upon him, shew'd both him and the People that he was all along designed to succeed his Father. When *Lucius* triumph'd over the *Par-*

A.C. 167. *thians and Armenians, Commodus was created Cæsar. He was not then six Years old (a). In the eleventh Year of his Age he was called Germanicus, as well as his Father. He was not XIV when he was admitted into the College of Priests: That Summer his Father sent for him into Germany, where he invested him with the Toga Virilis; and upon the New's of Cassius's Death some Month's afterwards, he gave him at the desire of the Senate, the Tribunitial and Proconsular Power, thereby making Commodus Partner with himself in the Empire. The next Year he went along with his Father into the East; and upon their return they triumph'd together over the Germans. At the Triumph Commodus was admitted into full Partnership with his Father in the Empire, the same that Lucius enjoy'd before, having the Title of Augustus, with all the Branches of Supreme Power that were then annex'd to it (b). The Summer following, when he was in the XVIIth Year of his Age, he marry'd by his Father's Order Crispina the Daughter of Bruttius Praesens, a Senator of great Reputation, some of whose Ancestors had been Consuls formerly*
in

Ibid. cap.

§ 1. extremo

Ibid. c. 12.

Capit. in
Marco,
cap. 27.

IN *Pius's* time. Upon the occasion of that Solemnity, great Liberality's were distributed to the People in *Commodus's* Name. In the Year 178 he went again with his Father into *Germany*, where he continued till *Marcus* died.


A.C.

177.

A.C. 178.
Lamprid.
in *Com-*
modo,
cap. 12.

S. 4. We are mightily in the dark about his Behaviour whilst his Father lived. *Dion Cassius*, who was Contemporary with *Commodus*, say's that he was naturally an open and a sincere Man, not addicted of himself to any sort of Vice: (c) But that the Softness of his Temper betray'd him into ill Company, who soon made a Prey of him, and taking advantage of his Love of Ease, soothed him in his Pleasures, and kept all those of his Father's Friends at a distance from him, who would have advised him better. So that by this means he soon contracted such vicious Habits, as produced those extravagant Effects of Lust and Cruelty, which have made him infamous to all Posterity. *Lampridius* on the other hand say's, that even from his Childhood he plainly shew'd what was to be expected from him. Particularly, that when he was but XII Years old, being one day bathing at *Centum-Collæ*, he

Ibid. c. 1.

A.C. 178.  ordered one of the Waiters to be thrown into the Furnace for over-heating the Bath; and would not be satisfied, till his Governor by throwing a Sheepskin into the Furnace instead of the poor Man, deceived *Commodus* by the Smell, and made him believe that his Orders were obey'd. How to reconcile these two Historians at this distance seem's not easy. It is probable that as long as *Marcus* lived, *Commodus* kept himself tolerably well within bounds, and concealed his Inclinations as much as he could; Tho. the Passion which he shew'd for the Sports of the *Amphitheater* and the *Circus*, long before *Marcus* died, was no very good Omen of a wise and steady Government afterwards. And when *Dion* speak's of the Goodness of *Commodus's* Natural Temper, he must be understood of it, as it appeared before he was invested with the full Partnership of the Empire, in the Year 177: For in his Account of *Marcus* he insinuates, that *Commodus* practised with his Father's Physicians to hasten his Death, during his last Sickness.

S. 5. When *Marcus* dy'd, *Commodus* was with him in the Army. *Marcus* had
had

had in that Year and Half's time that he had been upon the Borders, brought those barbarous Nations with whom he then made War, in a manner to his own Terms; and had he lived a little longer, he had certainly effected what he designed. But his Death put a stop to all those things. *Commodus* was then in sole possession of the Empire; and longed to return to *Rome*, that he might enjoy the Pleasures of that Effeminate City, without disturbance.

A.C.

179.

A.C.

180.

Herodian
lib. i. §. 9.

§. 6. But it was too soon yet to discover his Inclinations. The Soldiers were first to be gratified; and it was customary for all new Emperors, at their Accession to the Government, to oblige their Guards, which regularly consisted of Ten thousand Men, and their Army which was then about them, with liberal Distributions. The Example of *Julius Cæsar*, after his Victory's over *Pompey* and his Party, became a Law to all succeeding Princes. And therefore as soon as *Commodus* had taken Order for some things that were absolutely necessary for his Father's Funeral, he was advised to call his Army together, and to engage them to himself by the Promise of a Magnificent Dona-

A.C.
180.
W

tive. For tho he was in possession some time before of a full Partnership with his Father in the Empire, so that upon *Marcus's* Death there was really no Alteration in the Government, but onely that which before seemed to be managed by Two, was now by the Death of one devolved into the Survivers hand; Yet really the Original Power lay in *Marcus* whilest he lived; and it was not usual for the *Junior Augustus* to do any thing without the *Senior's* Consent, when they were both together. It was necessary for *Commodus* therefore, now he was to appear upon the Stage alone, to say and do something which might fix the Army firmly to his Interest, whatsoever Accidents should afterwards happen. Accordingly, when he had called them together, he is sayd to have spoken to them to this purpose.

Herodian
ibid. S. 11.

S. 7. ' That we are all equally concerned at what has happen'd, and that
' you are as much grieved for my Father's Death, as I am my self, I am
' fully perswaded. For I never acted as
' if I was your Superior whilest he lived; and you know he loved you all
' as one Man. He was better pleased
' when he called me *Fellow-Soldier*, than
' when



‘ when he called me *Son*. For whereas
‘ one was onely a Natural Title, the
‘ other he looked upon as a Name that
‘ implied a Partnership in Virtue. You
‘ remember how he frequently used to
‘ commit me to your care, when I was
‘ but a Child; and therefore I do not
‘ question but I shall meet with all
‘ manner of Kindness from your Hands;
‘ whilst the older Men will take care
‘ of him whom they have brought up,
‘ and the young Men I may reasonably
‘ call upon as my School-Fellow’s in
‘ the Art of War. My Father, you
‘ know, made no difference between
‘ us, but instructed us all alike in the
‘ way’s of Virtue. And now Fortune
‘ has set me up to be your Prince in
‘ his stead, not brought in as my Pre-
‘ decessors were, or valuing my self
‘ upon my acquired Power, but born
‘ to the Empire, which none of your
‘ Princes could ever say before me. As-
‘ soon as I was born, the Royal Purple
‘ clothed me; and that Day that first
‘ saw me a Man, saw me at the same
‘ time your Emperor. So that when
‘ you think upon these things, you can-
‘ not but have a natural Affection for
‘ him who was not made but born your
‘ Prince.

A. C.

180.



' Prince. My Father is now gone ~~up~~
 ' to Heaven, to be a Companion ~~and~~
 ' an Assessor with the Gods: He ~~has~~
 ' left ~~me~~ to take care of Men below,
 ' and to govern things on Earth. It is
 ' your business now to secure ~~and~~
 ' strengthen ~~my~~ Government. If you
 ' do but bravely put an End to ~~this~~
 ' present War, you will extend the Ro-
 ' ~~man~~ Empire as far as the Ocean,
 ' which will bring Glory to your selves,
 ' and you will make a worthy return
 ' to our common Father's Memory.
 ' Think that he hears what we say,
 ' and inspects what we do. What great-
 ' er Happiness can we have, than to do
 ' our Duty before such a Witness?
 ' Your former Noble Actions were all
 ' attributed to his Wisdom, and to his
 ' Conduct. Now what you do under
 ' so young a Prince, you will reap the
 ' Honour of your selves, whilst every
 ' thing will be justly ascribed to your
 ' Fidelity, and to your Courage; and
 ' your glorious Actions will give a Re-
 ' putation to my Infant Government.
 ' For if the *Barbarians* should be repul-
 ' sed in the beginning of the Reign of
 ' so young a Prince, they would soon
 ' despond; and when they can no lon-
 ' ger

‘ger despise me for my Youth, they
 ‘will make no more Attempts, out of
 ‘a dread of what they have already
 ‘suffer’d.

A.C.

180.



§. 8. The Donative which *Commodus* Herodian
 promised to the Army was soon payd; §. 11. lib. 1.

and the Soldiers being highly pleased
 with their young Prince, prepared to
 carry on the War. Every thing at first
 was managed by the Friends of *Mar-*
cus, who diligently attended upon *Com-*
modus, and gave him the best Advice
 they could. Had he continued to fol-
 low their Instructions, he had been ve-
 ry happy, and the *Roman* Empire would
 have been so too under his Govern-
 ment: But some of his young Compa-
 nions, to whose Counsels he quickly
 listned, soon spoiled all. They still
 represented to him the Pleasures of *Ita-*
ly, and aggravated the Fatigues which
 they daily suffer’d whilest they lived
 upon the uncultivated Banks of the
Danube in a Camp. ‘ Shall we alway’s
 ‘live, *say they*, in this horrid Country,
 ‘where the Heavens are churlish, and
 ‘the Earth is barren? Instead of the
 ‘cool Springs, the warm Baths, and
 ‘the refreshing Breezes of *Italy*, where
 ‘all the Elements mutually conspire to
 ‘give

Herodian
 ibid.

A.C. 180. *W* ' give us Pleasure and Delight, ~~shall~~
 ' we alway's be struggling with Cold
 ' and Rain, with Snow's and Frost ?
 ' Are here the Shew's, is here the Mu-
 ' sic, can we meet with any of the Di-
 ' versions here, that Rome alone can
 ' give us? These *Barbarians*, Sir, may
 ' easily be repress by your Generals;
 ' the Work is done to your Hands al-
 ' ready by your Father: It is time for
 ' you now to reap the fruit of his Vi-
 ' ctory's, and to return to your Impe-
 ' rial City, which has sigh'd so long to
 ' see you.

S. 9. Such Suggestions as these soon
 won upon young *Commodus*, who ne-
 ver loved any thing that looked like Bu-
 siness. He gave out therefore that he
 would go home again; and because he
 wanted an Excuse, it was spread abroad
 that he was afraid some of the old
 Nobility might raise Disturbances in
 his Absence. But the wiser People
 that were about him, knew the Rea-
 son; and the more sensible they were
 of it, the more they dreaded his re-
 turn. They resolv'd to lay before him
 the dishonour which he would get by
 leaving the Army before the War was
 done; especially under an Infant Go-
 vernment,

vernment, where the Omens of his
future Reign would be taken from his
Actions now. *Claudius Pompeianus*,
his Brother-in-Law, the Man of the
greatest Authority in the Army, was
pitched upon to represent the sense of
the rest: And he is sayd to have spo-
ken to the Emperor in this manner:

A.C.

180.



§. 10. ' It is no wonder, Sir, that
' you long to be at home again; for we
' find the same desire equally strong
' within our selves. But the necessity
' of Affairs here, which require our
' presence, and are more in hast, stops
' our desires. There is no fear, Sir,
' but you may have time enough to
' enjoy the Delights of *Rome* hereafter;
' and wheresoever the Emperor is,
' there is *Rome*. To leave the War un-
' finisht now, is not onely dishonorable,
' but dangerous. We shall inspire our
' Enemy's with Courage, who will at-
' tribute our going home to fear of
' them, and not to our desire of seeing
' our Native Country. Is it not more
' honourable to return to *Rome* in tri-
' umph, leading the Kings and Princes
' of these Barbarous People after us in
' Chains, having conquered their Coun-
' treys, and made the *Northern Ocean*
' the

Herodian.
ibid. §. 14.

A.C.

181.



' the Boundary of the *Roman Empire* ?

' Such things, Sir, as these made ~~the~~

' Ancient *Romans* great and glorious.

' You need not fear any secret At-

' tempts at home against your Govern-

' ment. The most considerable Men

' of the Senate are here; your Army,

' which is with you, will preserve you

' upon the Throne, and the Treasure

' is with us. Besides, your Father's

' Memory has secured to you the Fide-

' lity and Love of all your Subjects

' throughout your Empire.

§. II. *Commodus* being startled at this Remonstrance of *Pompeianus*, knew not at first what to reply, and so dismissed the Counsel with a general Answer, letting them know that he would consider of the matter by himself at leisure. It is believ'd that what *Pompeianus* sayd, made some small Impression upon him at that time; but it lasted not long, for his young Advisers soon brought him over to themselves again. He resolved therefore for the future, whilst he stayd in the Camp, to communicate nothing to his Father's Friends, but sent out his Orders by himself, and left the Administration of the War upon the *Danube*, to Persons of his own choosing,



ing, and gave notice to the Empire that he would soon return. These new Officers had Orders to end the War as soon as they could, and to buy a Peace, where they could not bring the Barbarians to submit immediately without. These Orders were executed very punctually. Some of the Barbarians were attacked forthwith, and being beaten were glad to submit. Others accepted of a Sum of Money to be quiet; and were very well pleased that they had Money given them to do that, which in a short time they would have been forced to have done with much greater Loss.

§. 12. Yet considering the disadvantages the Roman Army lay under, by Commodus's declaring that he was in haste to return to Rome, the Terms they got were not dishonourable for the Empire. The Marcomans had often before beg'd of Marcus to forgive them; they proffer'd to submit upon his own terms; so that now they willingly agreed to send back all their Prisoners; to pay Yearly a certain Allowance of Corn; to surrender a great part of their Arms; to tye themselves up from meeting in any Number at home, and when they did meet, it should not be above

Dion Cas-
sius, p. 817.
C. D.

A.C.

181.



Ibid.

Herodian,
lib. 1. §. 16.

above once a Month, and that too in a certain place, in the presence of a *Roman* Centurion. They agreed also to furnish the Emperor with a certain Number of Soldiers, whom they were bound to recruit yearly, as they should happen to dy or be killed. The *Quadi*, whose Conditions were much the same, were assessed for their Quota at 13000 Men, whom *Commodus* dispersed into other parts of the Empire; and the rest of the *Barbarians* were assesse proportionably.

§. 13. Thus *Commodus* got a Peace. Being now entirely at Liberty, he made what hast he could to *Rome*. The Report of his Return being spread abroad, most people were exceedingly pleased. The Army being engaged in a Service where little was to be got but Blow's, were desirous of removing into easier Quarters, especially the *Prætorian Cohorts*, whose Business it was to guard their Prince. They long'd to be at *Rome*, where they should have nothing to do but to attend the Emperor, whose Inclinations were soon discover'd. The People of *Rome* sigh'd for their Young Prince: They expected large *Congia*'s, and Noble Shew's, when he



he came back : And in that they were not deceived. Besides, the Memory of *Marcus's* Government made his Son very welcome. The old Men remembered with how great Wisdom things were managed in *Pius's* time, when *Marcus* was his Partner in the Empire, tho he was then but young. Why (sayd they) may not young *Commodus* be like his Father? They knew all imaginable Care had been taken to direct his Education, and they could scarce think it possible that a Son of *Marcus* should miscarry.

§. 14. It was no wonder then that great demonstrations of Joy were shew'd at *Commodus's* first coming to *Rome* after his Father's death; that the Senate and People of *Rome* met him with Flowers and Lawrel-Branches, every Man striving who should outrun his Fellows: that *Jupiter* was thank'd in Medals stamp'd on purpose, for preserving their Emperor in the *German War*. *Perpetual Felicity*, and *Constant Plenty*, (*d*) were what all Men promised to themselves: There was Peace at that time throughout the Empire, and there was no fear of Enemy's, or prospect of Troubles.

A.C.

181.



Lamprid.
in Com-
modo,
cap. 3.

Dion Caf-
sius, p. 822
D.

§. 15. And indeed the Hopes of the Romans were not at first ill grounded. For some Years after his return to Rome (e) Commodus payd a great deference to his Father's Ministers, and seldom did any thing without their Advice. In the Year 181 he made *Antistius Burrhus* Consul, who marry'd one of his Sisters, and the next Year *Petronius Mamertinus*, who married another. These were very wise Men, who for that Reason, and not for their Nobility, tho they were Senators, were chosen by *Marcus* to be Husbands to two of his Daughters. *Commodus* indeed shew'd an early Inclination to chuse worthless Favourites; which was one great occasion of his Ruine; but they kept themselves within bounds for some time. *Saoterus* was the first Favourite he had; upon whom he doted to that excess, that when he triumph'd for his Victory's over the *Germans* in the Year 181, he carry'd this Favorite along with him in his Chariot. Nay, during the very Ceremony, *Commodus* shew'd himself so indiscreetly fond of this *Saoterus*, that he frequently turned his Head towards him to kiss him; which he also used to do in the Public Theatre.

tre. And because he was born at *Nicomedia*, the Senate gave the Inhabitants of that City the Privilege of celebrating Games, and erecting a Temple to the Emperor's Honour, the memory of which is still preserved in Medals coined by the *Nicomedians* upon that occasion. (f) But in time *Saoterus* growing insolent, and pushing *Commodus* forward to do many violent Actions, was privately killed in his own Gardens by the Order of *Tarrutenus Paternus*, the Captain of the Guards. This was highly resented by *Commodus*; who under a pretence of doing *Paternus* Honour, made him Senator quickly after, and so made his Captainship of the Guards void, and soon after put him to death, for being concerned in a Conspiracy against his Person, which was contrived by his Sister *Lucilla*, and had been discover'd a little while before.

§. 16. This Conspiracy, from the discovery of which we ought to date the ruine of *Commodus*, was framed by *Lucilla* for this Reason: In her Youth she had been married to *L. Verus* the Emperor, and took the Title of *Augusta*: After his death, her Honour was continued. She alway's had the

A.C.

181.

Lamprid.
ibid. c. 4.Herodian
lib. 1 § 25.

A.C.

184.



Sacred Fire carry'd before her, and she sat in the Imperial Seat in the Theater upon all public Occasions. Whilst *Faustina* her Mother lived, there could be no dispute of Place, and so long there was no difference. But after *Commodus* had married *Crispina*, a private Senator's Daughter, who was therupon declared *Augusta*, and took place of *Lucilla* as her Brother's Wife, Feuds immediately began between the Women, which ended at last in *Lucilla's* Destruction. Her Brother allow'd her the Place and Title of *Augusta* after their Father *Marcus's* Death, but that would not content her. *Crispina* being of inferior Birth to her self, she could not bring her self to give *Crispina* the Precedence. However, she waited for a favorable Conjunction wherein she might shew her Resentments, when *Commodus* by his growing Extravagancy's might lose his Reputation with the Senate, tho hitherto, comparatively speaking, he had kept himself within bounds. At last, when she thought the time was come, she persuaded one *Quadratus* a young Senator, to whom she was suspected to allow very unbecoming Freedoms, to get a company of other Senators

nators in whom he could confide, and to stab *Commodus* when they had an opportunity. She durst not acquaint her Husband *Pompeianus* with the Plot, because she knew he loved *Commodus* too well, and was a Man of too much Honour to be engaged in so black a design. *Quadratus* soon found out a Man for his purpose, one *Quintianus* a young Senator (g), a Man of a rash and a headstrong Temper, willing to execute what *Lucilla* and *Quadratus* should command him to do. Besides, *Quintianus* was made to believe that *Commodus* hated the whole Senatorial Order, and that he should do a public piece of Service to that Illustrious Body, by removing this Enemy of theirs out of the World.

§. 17. The Place that was agree'd upon, in which he was to execute his design, was the going in into the Amphitheater, as *Commodus* was to come out in the Evening towards the Palace. The darkness of the place gave *Quintianus* Encouragement, by flattering him with hopes of escaping when he had done his Business: And 'tis probable he might have done it, and afterwards have gotten away, if as soon as *Commodus* was come near him, he had

A.C.

184.

~~~~~

Herod. n.

ibid. § 21.

A.C. not imprudently shew'd his Dagger to  
 184. the Emperor, and aloud told him, *That*  
 ~~~~~ *that Dagger was sent him by the Senate.*  
 Lamprid. Thus by speaking before he struck, he
 Commed. alarm'd the Guards, who presently
 cap. 4. seized upon that unhappy Man, and
 soon made him suffer the reward of his
 Folly.

S. 18. These words of *Quintianus*
 made a very great Impression upon the
 Mind of *Commodus*. From that time
 forward he conceived an Aversion to the
 whole Order of Senators, and upon
 several frivolous Accusations put many
 of the wisest, and richest, and best of
 them to Death. *Lucilla's* Plot was a
 specious handle at that time, and all
 the Accomplices with her, were de-
 stroy'd without Mercy. The Names
 are preserv'd of *Paternus* the late Cap-
 tain of the Guards, *Vitruvius Secundus*
 the Emperor's Secretary, and several
 other Consular Men, whom *Commodus*
 killed upon this occasion. But of all
 whom he cut off at this time, none
 were more lamented than the two *Quin-*
tilii, *S. Quintilius Condianus* (*h*), and
Quintilius Maximus, who were the most
 Illustrious Instances of uninterrupted
 Love, from their Childhood to their
 Deaths,

Lamprid.
 in Com-
 modo c.4.
 & Dion
 Cassius p.
 819.

Deaths, that perhaps any History can afford. They were Consuls together above XXX Years before under *Pius*: They were Joint-Governors of *Greece*, and of several other Provinces under *Marcus*. Fragments are preserved in *Constantine's Geoponic's*, of a Book of *Agriculture* which they composed together: They wrote Letters jointly to the Emperor *Marcus*; and he answer'd them together upon a Cause wherein they consulted him; his Rescript directed to them both, being mentioned in the *Digests*. In short, wherever these two extraordinary Brothers are named in Antiquity, they are always named together, one Soul still acting them, so that they seem to have been looked upon but as one Man. This also was peculiar in their Fortune, That as they had lived and acted in all Capacity's so long together, so neither of them had the Misfortune to outlive the other, being both cut off at the same time by this cruel Prince. *Maximus* had one Son named *S. Condius*, after his Uncle, who was in *Syria* when his Father and Uncle were killed. He was a Man of considerable Figure for Wealth and Understanding, and had

A.C.

184.

A.C. 151.

S. 16. Leg.
de Bonis La-
bertorum.Dion Cas.
l. 819.

A.C. 184. been Consul some time before with *Bruttius Præfens*, the Father-in-Law of *Commodus*. When his Father and Uncle were cut off, he supposed he should not stay long after, and therefore try'd to make his Escape. If he was not seized upon by the Officers of *Commodus*, he was starved in the Mountains; for several Heads were brought to *Rome* for his, but whether any of them was the Head of *Condianus*, was never known. A counterfeit *Condianus* appeared afterwards in the Time of *Pertinax*, who layd claim to that vast Estate which had formerly belonged to the *Quintilii*; but *Pertinax* discovered him to be an Impostor, by asking him some questions in *Greek*, which Language this mock *Quintilius* did not understand, tho the true *Quintilius Junior* was eminently skilful in it.

§. 19. *Commodus* being now free from that Restraint which his Father's Friends layd before upon him, gave himself wholly up to his Pleasures. The Sports of the *Amphitheater* were his great Diversion. And whilst he busied himself with them, and so amused and pleased the People, *Perennis*, whom he had made Captain of his Guards in the room

room of *Paterus*, governed the whole Empire. *Perennis* is described by *Lampridius* and *Herodian* to have been a Man of no worth, covetous and cruel, and treacherous to his Master. His design, if we may believe them, was to make *Commodus* as odious as he could, by indulging him in his Pleasures, and pushing him forward every day to commit new Acts of Cruelty towards the Richest and Worthiest Men in the Empire, that he might possess himself of their Estates, and by the help of that mighty Treasure which he soon gathered, seize upon the Empire whenever a fit Conjunction should offer it self.

A.C.

184.

In Com-
modo
capp. 5, 6.
Herodian
lib. 1 § 23,
24.

§. 20. But whether *Perennis* was so faulty as these Historians represent him, is not known. *Dion Cassius* say's P. 821. E. he was a very worthy and a very upright Minister of State; a Man every way undeserving of the Fate he met with; since nothing could be layd to his charge, but too great a desire of Power; to compass which, he contrived the ruine of *Tarrutenus Paternus*, who was Captain of the Guards before him. Be this as it will, it is certayn that the Violences committed during his Administration, were the occasion of

A.C. 185. of his ruine. The Account which *Herodian* gives of his downfall, makes it very probable that he aimed at the Empire: But things were too early yet, and *Commodus* was too well beloved to have any real Conspiracy's against him come to any issue. *Perennis's* Actions were seen thro, and layd at the right door. He had given his Son the Command of the *Illyrian* Legions, and there being then a War against the *Dacians*, whatsoever had been done by any other Officers, was all attributed to young *Perennis*. His Father had given him Instructions to declare for the Empire in *Illyricum*, whilest he secured the Guards at *Rome*; so that they seemed to have reckon'd themselves certain of Success, and wanted onely a proper opportunity to get rid of *Commodus*.

A.C. 186. S. 21. Whilest things were in this posture, the Festivals came on, which every Fourth Year were celebrated in Honour of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. During this Solemnity, when *Commodus* was in the Theater, where there was a mighty Concourse of People, a Man stood up drest in a Philosophical Habit, half naked, with his Staff in his Hand, and a Satchel by his side. This Man, when
by

by moving his Hand he had silenced the Audience, sayd aloud to *Commodus*,
 ‘ This is not a time, Sir, for you to
 ‘ mind Play’s or Festivals. The Sword
 ‘ of *Perennis* hangs over your Head;
 ‘ and if you do not immediately pre-
 ‘ vent the danger which is now at hand,
 ‘ you are lost: He is at this instant ga-
 ‘ thering Men and Money against you
 ‘ here, and his Son is persuading the
 ‘ *Illyrian* Legions to join with him; so
 ‘ that if you are not before-hand with
 ‘ them, you will perish e’re you are
 ‘ aware of it.

A.C.

186.

Herodian
 lib. i. § 25.

§. 22. What Cause moved this poor Man to say these things, is not known. He sayd nothing, if we may believe *Herodian*, but what every Man thought before, tho no Man, for fear of *Perennis*, durst speak his mind. *Commodus* was so struck with what the Man sayd, that he stood speechless; and whilest no other Man else in the Audience made any Reply, *Perennis* stept forth, and deny’d all that was charged upon him; and giving it out that he was mad, order’d him to be taken, and burnt alive immediately.

Idem ibid.
 §. 26.

§. 23. But tho *Perennis* escaped for the present, yet his Enemy’s layd hold of

A.C. of this advantage to ruin him in the
186. Opinion of *Commodus*. His Love of
 ~~~~~ Power, of which even *Dion* does not  
 clear him, had made him insupportable  
 to the whole Court; and there was  
 another Favorite growing up, one *Cle-*  
*ander*, a Man of meaner Original than  
 himself, who waited for nothing but  
 the ruine of *Perennis* to make himself  
 as powerful as ever *Perennis* had been  
 before. About the same time also the  
 Army in *Britain* mutiny'd against *Peren-*  
*nis* for displacing some Senators that  
 commanded amongst them, and putting  
 Knights in their places. This angered  
 them so grievously, that they sent some  
 of their Body to *Rome*, to complain to  
*Commodus* against *Perennis*.

*Lamprid.*  
*Commod.*  
 cap. 6.

*Dion Caf-*  
*sius p.*  
 810 D.

**S. 24.** *Commodus* had now for some  
 Years carry'd on a very successful War  
 in *Britain* by his Lieutenants. In the  
 beginning of his Reign, the *Picts* that  
 lived beyond the Wall which *Hadrian*  
 built long before to keep them in, had  
 broken down the Wall, and ravaged  
 the Country which was under the *Ro-*  
*man* Government. When *Commodus*  
 heard of it, he sent *Ulpinus Marcellus*, a  
 very sober and vigilant Officer, to re-  
 strain them. *Marcellus* gained so great  
 advan-

advantages against them, that *Commodus* in the Year 184 assum'd the Title of *Britannicus*, and stamped abundance of Medals in memory of his suppressing of that Insurrection. Now whether *Perennis* had a Picque against any of the Officers that served in *Britain* after the removal of *Marcellus*, or for what other Reason not easily to be assigned at this distance, the whole Army seems to have been disobliged by the Alterations that he made. They carry'd their Resentments so high, that *Dion* says, they sent 1500 of their Body to *Rome* to complain against him.

A.C.

186.

Ibid 811.  
C.

§. 25. When a great Minister is falling, every thing conspires to promote his ruine. The Soldiers who came up to *Rome* against *Perennis*, were met there by others who came with Accusations of a severer nature against him out of *Illyricum*, where his Son commanded at that time. These Men brought Medals with them, with the Imperial Stamp upon them, and inscribed with the Name of *Perennis* round his Image. When *Commodus* saw these Medals, he was thoroughly convinced of their designs, and sent for old *Perennis* immediately to the Palace, and

Herodian

lib. 1. § 27.

cut

A.C. stood that formal preparations were  
186. making against him, which he knew he

had not strength enough to withstand, he desisted, and took another Method. He found that Success had favoured him since he left the Camp, beyond what he could possibly have hoped for. He looked upon his Condition as desperate, knowing that whensoever he were taken, he should suffer some horrible Death. He therefore concluded that if he could get privately with his Men into *Italy*, and there of a sudden kill *Commodus*, he might, during the surprise that every Man would naturally be in at such a time, easily declare himself Emperor, and that his Men would make good his Attempt. His Army, who were all in the same Condition as himself, promised to execute whatsoever he should desire. It was agreed therefore that they should disperse immediately, and go thro By-Roads, a few in a Company, over the *Alps* into *Italy*, with Orders to meet next *April* at *Rome*, at the Feast of *Cybele*. That Festival always drew a great Concourse of People from all parts of *Italy* to *Rome*. The Processions in Masquerade which were then customary, made



made it very easy for a considerable Body of Men to lurk in, disguises in that populous City, without being taken notice of. Accordingly it was resolved that some of their Number, habited like the Guards, should get admission to the Emperor, and so murder him whom they pretended to protect.

§. 28. The Plot being thus layd, and every thing almost ready for execution, some of *Maternus's* Gang, who could not patiently endure to see their Fellow-Robber set over their Heads as their Prince, got before to *Rome*, and acquainted *Commodus* with the whole Design. It was no difficult matter to prevent such a Design when once it was known; and so *Maternus* was seized upon as soon as ever he got to *Rome*, and beheaded, and the rest of his Accomplices suffer'd the Reward that was due to their deserts. The remains of his Insurrection in *Gaule* were also soon disperfed by *Pescennius Niger*, whom *Commodus* sent thither for that purpose; the same *Niger* who afterwards upon the report of the death of *Pertinax*, set up for himself at the head of the *Syrian* Legions, and was overthrown by *Severus*. After the danger

Sort in  
Nigro c. 3.

A.C. 186. was over, *Commodus* offer'd very solemn Sacrifices to the *Mother of the Gods*, who had in his opinion thus preserved him; which he renew'd afterwards every Year, at the return of her Feasts; and Medals were stamped by the Order of the Senate, wherein his Deliverance is thankfully ascribed to her Protection. (i)

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## C H A P. II.

*Of the Actions of Commodus, from the Execution of Maternus, till his Death.*

S.I. **U**PON the death of *Perennis*, *Commodus*, who could never live without a Favorite, committed the whole Management of his Affairs to *Cleander*, a Man of no Birth, originally a Slave, who many Year's before had been brought from *Phrygia*, and publicly sold in *Rome*. This Man had been bred up with *Commodus* from his Childhood, and by degrees had insinuated himself so far into the Emperor's Favor, that nothing of Moment could be

Hæroclian  
lib. I. §. 37.  
Dion Caf.  
sius. p.  
822. C.

be done in the whole Empire without the direction of *Cleander*. *Commodus* having found the inconvenience of entrusting the *Captainship of the Guards* with One Man, now gave it to Three, of whom *Cleander* was the chief: He made him likewise chief Bedchamber Man, and married him to *Demostria*, who had been one of his own Mistresses.

A. C.  
186.  
Lamprid.  
Commod.  
cap. 6 ex-  
tremo.  
Dion Cas-  
sius p.  
822. D.

§. 2. *Cleander* being thus unexpectedly advanced, thought it advisable to begin his Ministry with some popular Acts. This he knew was the way to lay the greatest Load upon his Predecessor's Memory. Every thing that had been done before by *Perennis* that could possibly be layd hold of, was solemnly repealed. There being slender provision made for some Years last past, to supply the City with Corn, a new Fleet (*k*) was now order'd to fetch Corn out of *Africa* to *Rome*, in Case the *Alexandrian* Fleet should at any time fail. These things, with *Commodus's* Distributions to the People, wherein he was very magnificent, (having several times given the People 140 *Denares* a Man, which comes to above 4l. of our Money) had so far secured

Lamprid.  
Commod.  
cap. 6.

Dion p.  
825. A.

A.C. his Interest, that he might have retrieved  
 187. all again, if he would have gone  
 ~~~~~ on as he seem'd for a while to have  
 begun.

Lamprid.
 Commod.
 cap. 6.

§. 3. But this Reformation was very
 shortlived: *Commodus* found it a difficult
 thing to contain himself from his
 usual Excesses for a Month together.
 When things were in some measure settled,
 and *Cleander* fixed in the Ministry,
Commodus withdrew into the Country
 for some time, with his Train of lewd

Herodian
 lib. 1. §. 38.

People about him. *Cleander* finding
 himself without a Rival, soon pulled
 off the Mask, and in a short time by
 his Covetousness and Oppression grew
 to be more insupportable to the Empire
 than ever *Perennis* had been before him.
 His chief aim was to raise Money, and
 as it was believed, with the same design
 which his Predecessor was thought
 to pursue before. Every thing now was
 set to Sale; all Offices and Places of
 Trust and Honor were given to the
 highest Bidder. Any Man that had
 Money might get into the Senate-
 House; and *Cleander's* Extortion grew
 to so great a Height, that no Man was
 safe, of whom he could possibly make
 a Prey. Whosoever opposed him, was

Lamprid.
 ibid. c. 6.
 Dion p.
 821. D. E

soon

soon cut off upon some frivolous pretence or other. Among others, he accused *Antistius Burrhus*, a Brother-in-Law of the Emperor's, of High-Treason, for aiming at the Empire, because he remonstrated to the Emperor the danger he was in by leaving every thing to this Man's Care. For now all Law and Justice were quite overturned. Men that had been banisht for the greatest Crimes were recalled, and for Money put into the highest Offices. Others who had righteously lost their Causes in Courts of Justice, might if they bribed *Cleander*, get the Decree's that were past against them reversed: The former Rules of disposing Places and Offices were wholly alter'd. One Year he made 25 Consuls, onely to raise Money, of whom *Septimius Severus*, who was afterwards Emperor, was one. No Man, in short, was safe, that was thought to be rich, or, if he was a Man of Worth, that was believ'd to be ready to oppose *Cleander's* Designs.

Dion ibid.

§. 4. And now, whilst *Rome* groan'd under the Administration of *Cleander*, as if so insolent a Favorite had not been a sufficient Grievance, a Plague

A.C. broke out, which swept away an innumerable company of People. It was so terrible, that for several day's together 2000 Persons died of it in a day in *Rome*. So many Carcasses corrupted the Air, and that destroy'd a world of Cattle as well as Men. This obliged *Commodus* to retire to *Laurentum*, a very pleasant Place, where notwithstanding this public Calamity, our Effeminate Emperor lived with as much Luxury, and follow'd his Pleasures as eagerly as he used to do before in *Rome*.

Herodian
lib. i §. 37.

Dion p.
823. A. B.

§. 5. Misfortunes seldom coming single, the *Romans* were at this time almost starved for want of Bread. The former Care which *Commodus* had taken to supply the City, was forgotten; *Cleander* had bought up all the Corn, and had given *Papyrius Dionysius* (1), the *Præfectus Annonæ*, Orders not to let the City or the Soldiers have what was necessary, that thereby they might be induced to rise, and then he hoped that by a gratuitous distribution of Corn and Money when they were all in an Uproar, he should gain them over to himself, and so he might be declared Emperor without opposition. But some

Some other Accidents intervening, turned this Project of *Cleander's* entirely upon himself. He had study'd several way's of being popular. He had built noble Bathes for the Citizens to bathe in gratis; and no doubt he layd all the fault of monopolizing the Corn upon the Emperor, and promised to redress it as soon as he could. What effect these things might have had alone, none can tell; but his killing of *Arrius Antoninus* put the People out of all patience. This *Arrius Antoninus* upon the account of his relation to *Antoninus Pius*, was the darling of the People: Some time before he had been *Proconsul* of *Asia*, and during his Government had condemned one *Attalus* in a Cause which was brought before him. *Attalus* or his Friends made application to *Cleander*, and layd Crimes to *Antoninus's* Charge, for which *Cleander* order'd him to be killed. The People, who were ready to rise before, hereupon when they were assembled in the *Cirque* to see a Race, left the place of a sudden, and went into the Suburbs where *Commodus* then lay, to demand Justice against *Cleander*. The noise of this Tumult coming to *Cleander's* Ears,

A.C.
187.

Herodian
lib. 1. § 37.
Dion p.
823. A.

Lamprid.
in Com-
modo c. 7.

Dion p.
823. B.

Herodian
lib. 1. § 38.

A.C. Ears, he order'd that *Commodus* should
 187? know nothing of the matter, and com-
 ~v~ mande'd some Troops of Horse imme-
 diately to fall upon the People. The
 Soldiers believing that they acted by
Commodus's Order, did as they were
 commanded, and fell upon the People,
 killing some, and wounding more. The
 People being unarmed, and on foot,
 could make no resistance, and so fled
 as fast as they could into the City. In
 the flight abundance were destroy'd;
 for the Soldiers killed all they could
 come at, and great numbers were trod-
 den to death by their Companions;
 whilst all men made what hast they
 could home. When they were got in-
 to the City, every Man locked him-
 self up within doors, and then from
 the Roofs of the Houses they threw
 Stones and Tiles upon the Soldiers,
 which exceedingly distress'd them: For
 their Horses being frightned, threw
 them in the Streets, and broke all their
 Ranks. The Foot-guards likewise came
 into the assistance of the Citizens, so
 that in a little time there was a formal
 Engagement.

§. 6. Whilst every thing was in this
 confusion, no Man durst acquaint the
 Em-

Emperor with the matter, for fear of *Cleander*. At last, *Fadilla*, the Eldest Sister that *Commodus* had then alive, who upon the account of her Quality had alway's free access to him when she pleased, came with her Hair dishevelled, and threw her self at her Brother's Feet, and let him know the danger they were all in. She acquainted him with the Ingratitude of *Cleander*, at whose door she layd the whole Insurrection; and she desired him to consider, that unless a speedy Remedy were put to these Disorders, he and his whole Family in a few Hour's would unavoidably perish.

A.C.
187?
Herodian.
lib. 1. §. 39.

S. 7. Fadilla's Remonstrance; which *P. 823. C.* *Dion* ascribes to *Marcia*, the Emperor's Concubine, had its effect. It was seconded by all that were at that time about the Emperor; and *Commodus*, who was naturally fearful, as Cruel Persons usually are, when he saw the Tempest over his Head, was resolved to take the onely proper Method to avert it. He sent therefore for *Cleander* immediately, who not knowing what had past, tho he was not without suspicion that something had been discovered, came to the Emperor. As soon
as

A.C.

187?



Herodian
lib. i. § 41.

Herodian
lib. i. § 42.

as he was come in, *Commodus* ordered his Head to be struck off, and set upon a long Pole, and shew'd to the People.

§. 8. The sight of *Cleander's* Head put an end to the Tumult presently. The Soldiers hitherto thought that they had acted by the Emperor's Order, which now they found they did not. The People had what they desired, and were very willing to give over. Thus both sides were quiet; and the People contented themselves with killing *Cleander's* two Sons, and dragging his Body ignominiously thro the Streets, and throwing it at last into the common Shore. Such was the end of this unhappy Man, who from mean Beginnings rose of a suddain to vast Power; and not knowing how to use his Fortune, aimed at more than he could grasp, and so quickly met with the just Reward of his Deserts.

§. 9. When this Tumult was over, *Commodus* was advised to shew himself to the People, who declared they were willing to own his Authority, and longed to have him once more amongst them: He returned therefore again to the Palace, where he was received with great Acclamations. For the People



ple were still willing to lay all the blame upon his Ministers, and would have been very glad to have excused him from having any Hand in the Misery's which they suffer'd. But whether these things had sowed his Temper, or rather that the Excesses to which he had thus long abandon'd himself, were now become so habitual that he could not tell how to leave them off, he grew worse and worse, and daily upon one pretence or other he cut off some of the most considerable Men in *Rome*: He began to think all Men of Probity and Worth his Enemy's; and from esteeming them to be so, it was too natural a step to use them as if they had been such. So that in a short time few Senators of any Reputation for Wisdom or Skill in Business, durst come at him, and the Palace was wholly filled with Men who flogg'd him in all his Extravagancy's, and put every thing in execution which his wild Fancy suggested to him.

§. 10. It was no wonder then that he soon grew odious and terrible to the People. Hitherto his Favorites bore the blame of most of the Excesses which had been committed. *Perennis* first,

A.C. first, and *Cleander* afterwards, were
 188, looked upon as the Authors of the
 Ec. greatest part of the Cruelty's that had
 ~~~~~ been acted; and *Lucilla's* Plot, which  
 broke out in the beginning of her Brother's  
 Reign, gave but too plausible a  
 handle for his Severity's at that time.  
 But now all was layd upon *Commodus*  
 himself, who every day did some new  
 thing or other, which lessened his  
 Esteem amongst all Mankind.

§. 11. The public Misfortunes likewise which happen'd in the latter Years of *Commodus*, were all looked upon by the People as Judgments from above, for his Wickedness. Besides the Pestilence, which has been mentioned already, a very grievous Fire broke out of a suddain in *Rome*, which first consumed the Temple of *Peace*, and then raged for several Day's before it could be stopped. The *Temple of Peace* was the largest and the most beautiful Temple in the whole City. And besides its own Ornaments, which were very splendid, many Rich Men lodged their Treasures there for greater Security. So that this Fire impoverished many more besides those whose Houses were burnt. These Losses did exceedingly sowre the  
 People,

People, especially when they perceived that *Commodus* still went on, doing things every way more and more unbecoming his Character, and exprest no Concern for their Miseries.

A. C.  
188,  
Ec.

§. 12. Sometimes he covered his Extravagancy's with a Mask of Religion.

One while he was excessively zealous for the *Aegyptian* Deity's, *Sarapis*, *Isis*, and *Anubis*. He would go in Person out of Wantonness thro the Streets, in Procession, with the Image of *Anubis* in his Hand. This Idol was in the Shape of a Dog, and whilst he walk'd along, he would sometimes stumble on purpose, that he might break the Heads of those that were just before, with the Image which he carry'd. For in every thing he delighted to be cruel ; which made the People dread his Sports as much as his Wrath. The Priests of *Bel-lona*, at her solemn Times, used to pretend to let themselves Blood in the Arm, as a proper Sacrifice to the Goddess of War: *Commodus* made them be blooded in earnest, and caused their Vein's to be opened against their Wills. The Priests of *Isis*, in their Worship of her, when they supposed her to mourn for the Loss of her Husband *Osiris*, used to

Lamprid.  
Commod.  
cap. 9.

A.C.  
188,  
Ec.



Mediob.  
ad Annum  
187.

to beat themselves with Pine-apples ; *Commodus* made these poor Men bruise one another, till many of them died with the Contusions. These things are so ridiculous and fantastical, that they would hardly be believ'd upon the Testimony's of the Historians that relate them, if Authentic Evidences of *Commodus's* restoring these Superstitions, were not preserved in his Medals (*m*). Whilst *Perennis* lived, we find none of these Instances of the Emperor's Madness: So that he either kept *Commodus* in some sort of Awe, or else the Emperor was not then arrived to such a pitch of Pride and Wickedness, as wholly to lose all sense of Modesty, and regard for his own Reputation. We find no Medals of *Commodus's* RESTORING the Worship of *Sarapis*, or of his being the AUTHOR of any of these PIETIES, till the Year CLXXXVII, when Medals were coin'd with those Inscriptions. *Commodus* would then be called YOUNG JUPITER. Sometimes *Sarapis* appears upon his Medals, with the Magnificent Title of the Emperor's Preserver. When this Humor was worn off, then *Commodus* would be mighty fond of

of the Worship of *Apollo*. *Apollo Palatinus*, or *Montalis*, were Names that he assumed to himself. The Impunity that he found in all his Actions, with the Flattery that commonly attends boundless Power, made him look upon himself as something more than Human; and as his Fancy alter'd, he assumed the Title of that Deity who then happen'd to be his Favorite.

A.C.  
190,  
Ec.  
~~~~~  
Mediob.
ad Annum
190.

§. 13. But *Hercules* was the Deity that had the greatest share in this extravagant Prince's Affections (n). *Commodus* was from his Youth excessively fond of the Sports of the Amphitheater. With long use he had made himself very perfect in the Art of killing Wild Beasts dextrously. He is sayd to have killed some Thousands with his own Hands; and let the Weapon have been of what sort it would, it must have been want of Strength in the Weapon, not of Skill or Force in the Director, if the Beast which *Commodus* aimed at, did not fall down in the instant in which it was struck: He did not fight at first in public: Shame and Fear withheld him a long time from it; but at last, when he had arrived at so great a measure of dexterity in his Art, that

A.C.

190.



Dion Caf.

sius p. 825.

E.

Herodian.

lib 1. § 47.

that he feared no Wild Beast that could be brought upon the Stage, he appear'd in public as a *Gladiator*, and valu'd himself upon his being an overmatch for any Elephants, Wild Bulls, or Lions that could be brought before him. For they never came a second time, his first Stroke being always mortal. Tho with all his Courage he took care to have a Gallery made within the Amphitheater, between him and the Spectators, within which he stood, so that the Beasts could not have reached him, if he had mist his Aim, which he never did.

§. 14. These being this Emperor's darling Pleasures, it was no wonder if he was peculiarly fond of the Worship of *Hercules*. Nothing now would please him, but to be called *Hercules Commo-dianus*, or the *Roman Hercules*. He would go into the Amphitheater with his *Club*, and his *Lions Skin*, and they were set by his Throne with the other Badges of his Sovereignty. His Flatterers made him believe that the Stories which were told of the Son of *Alcmena*, were nothing in comparison of what he daily performed. The People were obliged to commend his dexterity

Dion. p.
825. D.

in

in destroying the Wild Beasts which were brought to *Rome* to be slain, as infinitely beyond what the true *Hercules* was sayd to do, whose business it was to drive the Beasts that infested Mankind into those Dens and Solitudes from whence this vain Prince was at so much pains to draw them.

A.C.

190,

Ec.

§. 15. The Account which is given of *Commodus's* Skill as a Marksman, is wonderful. He sent for *Parthians* to teach him to shoot the Arrow. He had *Moors* to instruct him to throw the Dart; and he outdid his Masters in every thing which he undertook of this kind. The curiosity of seeing the Emperor of the World amuse himself with such sort of Pleasures, brought great numbers of People to *Rome*, to see these things; and *Commodus* was never so well pleased, as when he thought the People were transported to see his Skill. It was dangerous not to commend him; and those to whom these things were no longer new, thought it one of the most grievous Burthens which they bore under *Commodus's* Government, that they were obliged to attend him in the Amphitheater, as often as he had a mind to make himself ridiculous.

Herodian
lib. 1 §. 47.

Q

§. 16.

A.C.

190,

E.C.



H.M.

§. 16. A Stranger indeed could not without amazement see this mighty Prince running after Stags or Roebucks in the Amphitheater, and striking them dead in the midst of their Course, with an Arrow or a Dart. If he aimed at the Heart, or at the Forehead, it was all one, his Weapons were equally mortal, and the part which he intended to strike, and no other, was constantly struck. He would sometimes aim at Ostriches which were set a running with their utmost swiftness, and cut their Heads off with Arrow's shaped like a Half-Moon at the ends, with so great a force, that the Headless Trunks would run a considerable space before they fell down. A Leopard once was provoked, and let loose at a poor trembling Gladiator upon the Stage, and in the moment that he was going to fasten his Teeth upon the naked Man, an Arrow shot by the Emperor pierced his Heart. He once threw a hundred Darts at a hundred Lions, which were let loose all together in the Amphitheater. These Lions had been kept under ground for some time before, that they might be the fiercer when they were brought again to the Light.

Light. Tho this made it the more difficult to take an exact Aim at particular Lions, when all ran raging about in so great a Crowd, yet no Dart fell besides the Beast it was thrown at; and every Dart, at the very Instant in which it was thrown, carry'd Death along with it. Once he run an Elephant through with a Pole: Another time he pierced the Horn of a Wild Bull with a Dart. And he frequently sent into all parts of the known World, for strange Beasts, on which he might exercise his Skill.

A. C.

190,

Ec.

*Lamprid.
Commod.
cap. 12.*

*Herodian
lib. 1. §. 47.*

§. 17. The Applauses which the People gave him for his Excellency's of this sort, made this unthinking Prince believe that he was esteemed by others upon this account, as much as he valued himself. This put him upon new designs to perpetuate his Memory in *Rome*, to the prejudice of all the Princes that had been before him. In Complement to *Julius Cæsar*, one Month was formerly called by his Name, and in Complement to *Augustus* another had been called by his: *Commodus* therefore in imitation of these Patterns, was resolved to new name every Month by Names and Titles of his own, many

A.C.
190,
E.C.



of, which he very ridiculously assumed to himself. The Acts of his Reign were all new drawn up, that they might be registred by the new Names of these Months ; and all Writings and Inscriptions wherein Dates were necessary, follow'd this new Calculation ; which if it had continued longer than this Emperor's Time (o), would have occasioned a World of Confusion in all manner of Accounts of Time. In the Year 190, he new named the City of *Rome*, calling it *Commodiana* ; and in memory of that Noble Exploit, he assumed the Title of *Hercules the Founder* ; and Medals were stamped by the Senate's Order, with a Husbandman driving a Yoak of Oxen (p), (the usual Emblem of a new Colony) in Honour of this new Colony of *L. Antoninus Commodus*.

Herodian
lib. 1 §. 48.

§. 18. Thus *Commodus* went on from one Extravagancy to another. The People at first were well enough pleased with his Skill and Success in killing Beasts upon the Stage. They looked upon this as a Manly Exercise, tho much below the Dignity of the Person who so diverted them. But when at last he came in Womens Clothes,

Clothes, and sometimes naked upon the Stage, it made all Mankind abhor him. That the Son of *Marcus*, who scarce ever did any thing in his whole Life that misbecame his Character, should thus expose himself, to take up a Profession which was infamous by the Law's, a Profession that the meanest Citizen of *Rome* would have been ashamed of, was what no man could behold without concern. Old *Pompeianus* his Brother-in-Law, who for his Father's sake had a mighty Tenderness for him, would never come into the Amphitheater, to see the Son of *Marcus* lessen himself in that manner: Tho he sent his Sons, lest that cruel Prince should ruin his whole Family; declaring that he would not go himself, if he were sure to be killed immediately upon his Refusal. And indeed he run no small hazard; for some were murdered by the Emperor's Order in their Seats, because he suspected that they laughed at him: Others were forced to chew Bay-leaves, that they plucked off from their Crowns, to conceal their smiling at his ridiculous Actions; which they knew would have been fatal to them, if it had been taken notice of.

A. C.

190,

Ec.

Dion Cas-
sius, p. 827.
A.

Dion Cas-
sius.

A.C.
190,
Ec.
Ibid, D.

C. in
Albino,
c.p. 2. 3.

§. 19. These abominable Practices of this unaccountable Prince, made him sensible some time before his Death, that his Enemy's multiply'd upon him so fast, that they would in all probability cut him off in a little time: This put him upon adopting a Successor, by whose Interest he might secure himself, He had the more reason to fear a Change, because he understood that *Septimius Severus* (who was afterwards Emperor) and *Nonius Murcus*, begun to tamper with the Legions which they commanded. No Method was so proper to break their Designs, if they should have any Intentions of rising, as to nominate a Successor. The Person whom he pitched upon was *Clodius Albinus*, his Lieutenant in *Brittain*. He sent *Albinus* a Letter, still extant, to recall him to *Rome*, and to order him to assume the Title and Habit of *Cæsar*, if any Exigency should happen. This Adoption *Albinus* made no use of, either because he had a Personal Aversion to *Commodus*, or else because he foresaw things could not long continue as they were, and then his Adoption might bring him into danger, if a new Faction should unawares arise.

§. 20.

§. 20. The Empire had now groan-
ed long enough under the Government
of this inhumane Prince. Yet it might
have been forced to endure him much
longer, if a Conspiracy begun and car-
ry'd on in his own Household had not
unexpectedly cut him short. He had now
reigned XII Years, IX Months, and
XIV Day's, when the Festivals of *Ja-
nus* upon the opening of the Year
CXCLII, were at hand. These he re-
solved to solemnize with great Pomp,
and to act a considerable part in them
himself, according to his usual Custom.
He intended to lodge the Night before
in the *Gladiators-House*, that he might
go directly from thence to the *Amphi-
theater*, intending to appear at the Head
of the *Gladiators* the next day.

A.C.

192.

Id. p. 828.

C.

Herodian
lib. i. §. 49.

§. 21. This Resolution of his was
soon discovered to his Mistress *Marcia*,
with whom after *Crispina's* Death, he
lived in every thing as if she had been
his Wife, excepting that he never gave
her the Honors nor the Title of *Augusta*.
He had shew'd an excessive Fondness
for this Woman several Year's before,
taking the Name of *Amazonius* for her
sake (*q*); and when he new named the
Month's of the Year, *January* was cal-

A.C. led *Amazonius*, to do her Honour. *Marcia* hearing of *Commodus*'s design, came to him, and with Tear's in her Ey's, threw her self at his Feet, intreating him not to do a thing which would bring so much Infamy upon himself, upon this occasion. She begg'd of him to have some Regard to the Empire which he governed; to have some Concern for his own Person, and not to trust himself with such a Profligate Crew as these Gladiators. But all this would not move him; and when she saw she could not prevail, she withdrew all in Tears.

§. 22. *Commodus* immediately sent for *Lætus* the Captain of his Guards, and *Eclectus* his Chamberlain, and order'd them to get every thing ready for next day, that attended by the whole Body of Gladiators, he might appear armed like one of them, at their Head, upon the *Amphitheater*. They also layd before him the Danger and Ignominy that would attend his Design, in very moving Terms, yet they prevailed as little as *Marcia* had done before. But this opposition so enrag'd *Commodus*, that he resolv'd to be rid of these uneasy Monitors. He was now hardned, and would

would bear no contradiction, tho he knew that these Methods brought onely Contempt and Scorn upon himself. And therefore he intended to cut off all those Friends of his Father's, or Courtiers of his own, of whom he did in the least stand in awe. He looked upon himself to be secure, so long as he cared the Soldiery; and accordingly he marked out several of the richest Senators for Destruction, that with their Estates he might oblige his *Guards* and *Gladiators*, who were the onely Persons in his Empire that he loved. Full of these designs, and angry at the resistance he found from those who had hitherto soothed him in all his Extravagancy's, when he was alone in his Bed-Chamber, he set down in his Table-Book the Names of those whom he resolved to put to Death that Night, and these Three among the rest. When he had finish'd his List, he layd the Book upon the Bed, and went to sleep. Soon after, a little Boy with whom he used to divert himself, who was allow'd Access to the Emperor at all times, went accidentally into the Room, whilst *Commodus* was asleep, and seeing the Table-Book lying upon the Bed,

A.C. 192. Bed, he snatched it up, and ran out of the Room, with a design to play with it.

§. 23. As he was going out with the Book in his Hand, *Marcia* met him, who fearing that thro childishness he might do some mischief, snatched it away from him. When *Marcia* had got the Book, she saw there was something written in it; and knowing *Commodus's* Hand, she had the curiosity to know what it was. The first thing she met with was her own Name, at the head of that black List of Senators and other eminent Persons, whom *Commodus* had appointed for destruction. As soon as she had recover'd herself out of the Fright into which this unexpected discovery had cast her, she sent for *Ecleſtus* to consult with him what was best to be done. *Ecleſtus* had formerly been allow'd to go into her Apartment at all times, and she was believed to grant him the same Freedoms which she gave to *Commodus*. Besides, there was no danger that any one should suspect any Consultation they Three might have, because it was known in the Court, that *Ecleſtus* and *Lætus* had Orders given them by the Emperor, to
get

get every thing ready for the next day's Solemnity. When *Eclectus* was come, *Marcia* shew'd him the List, which when he had looked over, he sent it away by a trusty Messenger presently sealed up to *Lætus*. *Lætus* came to them immediately; and since the thing would bear no delay, they resolved that *Marcia* should give the Emperor a Draught of poysoned Wine when he waked. She did so, and *Commodus* suspecting nothing, drank it up. The Poyson soon layd him to sleep; and if his Stomach had not by his frequent Excesses, and constant Bathings, which he generally used six or seven times a day, been so much weakned, that the Wine would not continue in it, he had certainly slept his last. But he had not been long asleep, before he was seized with intolerable Gripings in his Bowels and Stomach, which were followed with a violent Vomiting, that threw up all that he had drunk.

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§. 24. This Accident frightened the Conspirators. They were afraid *Commodus* might quickly come to himself, and then they knew what they were to expect. They resolv'd therefore instantly to kill him; and finding one *Narcissus*, a strong

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a strong nimble Youth, in whom they could confide, they offer'd him great Rewards if he would undertake this piece of Service. *Narcissus* at their desire undertook the Business, and went into the Chamber, where he found the Emperor struggling for Life, and without much difficulty strangled him. When this was done, they were in greater pain how they should dispose of the Body, and secure themselves. The Guards they knew loved *Commodus*, for he took alway's care to be liberal to them. He connived at all their Violences and Oppressions, that they might protect him against the People in his. For he found that he grew every day more and more odious, and consequently stood in need of such an Assistance as would effectually bear him out.

Herodian
lib. 2. §. 1.

§. 25. This being the state of things, the Conspirators took this Method to bring themselves out of danger. They wrapped the Body in a coarse Cloth, and sent it out of the Palace upon the Shoulders of two Servants whom they could trust: The Centinels who stood at the door, thinking that some Burthen had been carry'd out by the Emperor's Order, for the service of the

next

next day, let it pass without making any search: And when the Conspirators follow'd, who used formerly to go in and out of the Bed-Chamber at pleasure, they had no manner of suspicion. When the Body was safely lodged, it was thought advisable to give it out privately, that the Emperor died of an Apoplexy. His Excesses had made him corpulent of late. His Corpulency had very much enclined him to sleep; in which and bathing he freely indulged; and it was known that he usually drank strong Liquors, and great quantities of them whensoever he waked. This Practice made the Report easily believed.

A. C.

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§. 26. The next care of the Conspirators was whom they should set up in his stead. If they did not pitch upon a Man of Authority with the People, they would rise. If they did not nominate a Man whom the Army revered, they would mutiny. The Friends of *Marcus* were most of them dead. *Commodus* had no Children of his own: Those that he (*r*) had by his Empress quickly died: And *Crispina* herself being convicted of Adultery in the beginning of her Husband's Reign,

Dion Cas-
sius p. 818.
F.

was

A.C.

192.



Capitol. in
Pertinace.

was banisht to *Capreae*, and soon after killed. After her Death the Emperor never married again. So that there was none of *Marcus's* Family left to succeed. At last *P. Helvius Pertinax* was pitched upon; a Man of Primitive Severity and Strictness of Life, who had born the chiefest Offices of the Empire Civil and Military, under *Marcus* and *Commodus*, and was ordinary Consul with *Commodus* that very Year, and had been *Præfect of the City* for several Years before.

Herodian
lib. 2. § 4.

§. 27. Assoon therefore as they had resolved upon the Man, *Lætus* and *Eclectus* went in the dead of the Night to his House, to acquaint him with it. The sight of the *Captain of the Guards*, and the *Chamberlain*, who had been the chief Instruments of *Commodus* in all his Violences, made *Pertinax* conclude that they were come to kill him. He had expected Death a great while, and now believing that his Hour was come, he bore it with great Resolution, and bid them execute their Orders without hesitation. It was with some difficulty that they undeceived him: But when they shew'd him the List of those whom *Commodus* design'd to kill that Night,

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(in which he was in all probability one) and he had sent one of his Friends to view the Body, he acquiesced. When *Pertinax* had thus consented to accept of the Empire, their next business was to raise a Rumor throughout the City, that *Pertinax* was declared Emperor, and then they carried him to the Camp. *Lætus* undertook to pacify the Soldiers, which he did, tho with some difficulty. He told them, ‘ That *Commodus* died suddainly , and therefore ‘ there was a necessity of placing another immediately in his room : That ‘ *Pertinax* was the properest Man in the ‘ Empire to succeed him : That the ‘ Old Men among them had fought ‘ under him formerly , and had been ‘ Witnesses both of his Courage and his ‘ Conduct : That the Young Men ‘ knew how well and wisely he had ‘ governed the City for so many Years : ‘ Upon which Account he was, (as ‘ they well knew) the Darling of the ‘ People ; so that nothing they could ‘ do, could be so acceptable to the City, as to confirm the Election of *Pertinax*.

§. 28. Before *Lætus* had finished his Speech, the People were in an Uproar. They

A.C. 192. They had heard that *Commodus* was dead, and that *Pertinax* had been proposed to succeed him. They were afraid that the Soldiers would not confirm his Election, because he was a likely Man to put a stop to their disorders. This made the Mob run in a Body to the Camp, where before the Soldiers were aware, who were unarmed and half asleep, the Citizens mixed themselves among them, and made the Soldiers afraid, that if they did not do whatsoever the People would have them do, they would cut their Throats. The Soldiers therefore willingly agree'd to what *Lætus* had sayd, proclaim'd *Pertinax* immediately, and carry'd him along with the People, with Laurels in their Hands, directly to the Senate-House.

A.C. 193. S. 29. This whole Transaction was finished with so great speed, that the Senate were met in the *Temple of Concord* before day. The day that was coming on was the first of *January*, a day of great Rejoicing among the *Romans*, upon the account of their opening of the new Year; it being customary among them on that morning to send *New-Years-Gifts* to all their

Capitol. in
Pertinace/
cap. 4.

their Friends. The Preparation for the Shews which *Commodus* was then to have exhibited, had amused the People for some time before ; but the Pleasure they were to expect was damped by the notice that was given, That the Emperor intended to go to the *Amphitheater* from the *Gladiators Lodge*, guarded by that vile Crew whom he was to lead that Day. The Senators especially were griev'd at these things: esteeming it as a particular disparagement to themselves to see their Prince keep company with Men, whose very Profession the Law declared to be infamous. They inwardly groaned and long'd for a Change, for more they durst not do ; when to their great Astonishment they were summon'd in the Night to meet the Guards at the Senate-House, that they might ratify the Election of *P. Pertinax*.

§. 30. The merits of the Man, with their ill will to *Commodus*, soon induced the Senate to do what the Soldiery and the People desired. They ratified his Election with all the Ignominy upon the Memory of *Commodus*, that it was possible for an enraged Assembly to cast upon a Man whom they had long stood

A.C.

192.



In Com-
mod.capp.
18, 19.

in dread of, and had just then been unexpectedly delivered from. Their Method in such Cases was, for some particular Senator to give his Opinion in one Sentence, which was afterwards repeated in the self-same Words by all the rest. When that Sentence was repeated with Acclamations, the number of the Acclamations was sometimes registred; and then all that had been sayd was entred into the *Journal* as part of the *Decree of the Senate*. So they went on, as long as any Senator stood up to give his Opinion upon that Head. The Decree that was made upon the *Death of Commodus*, is preserved out of the *Journals of the Senate* by *Lampridius*. ‘ Let the Honours
‘ (cryed they) of the Enemy of his
‘ Country be reversed: Let this Enemy of his Country, this Parricide,
‘ this Gladiator be torn in pieces in the
‘ Room where they strip Gladiators:
‘ This Enemy of the Gods, this Executioner of the Senate; let him be lain in
‘ the Room where they strip Gladiators.
‘ Let him be dragged with Hooks, that
‘ killed the Senate: Let him be dragged with Hooks, that would have
‘ killed thee; for thou wast in danger,
‘ thou



‘ thou wast in dread as well as we. O
‘ Greatest and Best *Jupiter* save *Perti-*
‘ *nax* for our sakes, that we may be
‘ safe: Let us congratulate the Felicity
‘ of the Guards and Army’s of *Rome*:
‘ Let us wish well to the Piety of the
‘ Senate. Hear, O *Cæsar*! the Inform-
‘ er to the Lions: The Gladiator to
‘ the Lions: Take down the Statues
‘ of that Enemy, of that Parricide, of
‘ that Gladiator: Wherever they are,
‘ let them be taken down. Whilst you
‘ are well, we are safe, we are secure,
‘ we are truly, truly safe: Now, just
‘ now, are we truly, and worthily, and
‘ freely safe: Now we are secure, let
‘ the Informers be sent to the Lions.
‘ Hear, O *Cæsar*! let him be dragged
‘ with Hooks, who was more cruel than
‘ *Domitian*, and more impure than *Ne-*
‘ *ro*: As he did, so let him suffer.
‘ Pray restore the Memory of the Inno-
‘ cent: Pray restore the Honour of the
‘ Innocent. Enquire, Ask, ’tis all our Opi-
‘ nions, That the Carcass of this Gla-
‘ diator, of this Parricide should be
‘ dragged with Hooks: He that de-
‘ stroy’d Persons of all Ranks, all Ages,
‘ and all Sexes; he that spared not his
‘ own Blood; he that robbed Temples,

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‘ and voided Wills ; he that robbed the
 ‘ Living, and set a Price upon Blood,
 ‘ and then broke his Word ; he that
 ‘ sold the Senate, and then disinherited
 ‘ their Children, we desire that he may
 ‘ be dragged with Hooks. Remove In-
 ‘ formers and Talebearers out of the
 ‘ Senate. Remove Suborners out of the
 ‘ Senate. Thou knowst all these things :
 ‘ Thou knowst who are good Men, and
 ‘ who are bad amongst us : Redress all
 ‘ these things. We were afraid for
 ‘ thee : Now we are happy, since You
 ‘ are our Emperor.’ Here was an In-
 stance of the Rage of an August As-
 sembly, who were resolved to leave
 their Abhorrence of this Inhuman
 Prince upon Record, in their Registers
 to all Posterity.

A.C.

193.



§. 31. *Pertinax*, however, would not
 suffer these Ignominious Decrees of the
 Senate to be ratified. *Commodus* and
 his Father *Marcus* had raised him
 from a mean beginning to be one of the
 first Men in the Empire : So that *Com-
 modus* deserved well of *Pertinax*, what-
 soever he did of the rest of the Se-
 nate. *Pertinax* therefore order’d him
 to be bury’d privately, and gave way
 that the other parts of the Sentence of
 the



the Senate should be executed. Accordingly the People took down *Commodus's* Statues without delay, wherever they had been set up; erased all his Inscriptions, alter'd his Names of the Months, and restored the old ones, and in short undid all that he had done before, that was reproachful or infamous.

§. 32. This was the Fate of *M. Commodus Antoninus*, Emperor of *Rome*, who was killed in the XXXIII^d Year of his Age, after a short Reign of XII Years, V Months, and XIV Days. It is plain from what has been said, that he ow'd his Ruin at last wholly to himself. Never Prince begun a Reign with greater Advantages: At his coming to the Throne, he found the whole Empire in a manner in Peace; a victorious and obedient Army, a full Treasury, a People that adored his Father's Memory, and that would have done any thing in the World to have made his Reign easy and prosperous. But an immoderate Thirst after Pleasure, and an Aversion to Business, were his Ruine. These Vices betray'd him to the Suggestions of Men, that made him believe that a *Roman* Emperor might be as regardless

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~~~~~

of his People in all his Actions, as he is above them in State and Dignity. His Father's Friends grieved to see their Prince expose himself in this manner. They check'd him, and he cut them off. His young Advisers soon taught him to think every Man his Enemy, that found fault with what he did; and they possess him with an Opinion, that his Actions as well as his Person were all sacred, because they were his. After that there was no difficulty in getting the Power into their own Hands, by telling him that it was below him to attend to the drudgery of Business. And what was the Consequence of all this? They soon undid themselves, and at length their Master too. Habits of Vice unman Mens minds, and Princes most of all, who cannot bear the uneasiness of beginning all again. Besides, Princes that wholly give themselves up to their Pleasures, never make themselves Masters of their Business; which in a small Kingdom, and much more in so vast an Empire as that of *Rome*, is a laborious Employment, and requires abundance of Thought, and great Application to do it as it ought to be done. The necessary State and Order of a well-governed



verned Court, is what these effeminate Princes cannot bear; so that by Degree's their Duty becomes intolerable. There are alway's Attendants enough about a Prince, who will make it their business to find out his Inclinations: Whatsoever he *would do*, as well as what he *does*, shall be commended, if these Parasites think he will give Ear to what they say. And it shew's a strength of Mind, that few Men who have long unbent their Faculty's are capable of, to resist the Temptation of doing what they most desire to do, when they know they shall be commended for it when they have done.

S. 33. This was the Case of *Commodus*. When *Cleander* was dead, he saw his Mistake, and for a little while acted as became his Quality, and the Station he was in. But this was all Restraint; and when he flew out again, he found those that would obey him, and execute his Pleasures, till by degree's he grew extravagant enough to think himself a God; and when once he was got so far; he was above being reproved by mortal Men. Yet still when he reflected, he knew he was in the wrong. He found wise and good Men

A.C. 193. detested him: This led him to be brutally cruel. He saw the Fate of *Nero* and *Domitian*, that went before him: Therefore he reckon'd upon securing himself, by granting a boundless Liberty to his Guards, of doing what they would. Yet we see even that did not long secure him. Princes that allow themselves such wild Liberty's, can neither be loved nor esteemed by any Man. Their own Ministers will live in dread, they will supplant them as soon as they can, and when they cannot do that, they will murder them upon the least disgust. It is no wonder therefore if the Reign of *Commodus* did not last long; one would rather marvel that it should continue so long as it did. None but the Son of *Marcus*, whose lucid Intervals did now and then put the People in hopes that he would amend at last, could with such a Government have been so many Years obey'd. A remarkable Instance of the Truth of which Proposition, may be seen in the History of some of those Emperors of whom hereafter there shall be given an Account.

NOTES.





Pag. 195.

(f) Καίτοι καὶ ἐκείνῳ μέγιστον ἠδωμένῳ, καὶ διὰ τὴν καὶ οἱ Νικομηδεῖς καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔχον, καὶ πάλιν τὴν Κορνήλιον ποτίσαντες ὅπως ὁ βουλὴς ἔλαβον. *Dion de Soteris* p. 822 D. In memory of which Privilege, there is a Medal of *Commodus* preserved by *M. Vaillant* in his *Numismata Imp. Græcæ*, p. 81. with this Inscription, ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΕΩΝ ΔΙΕ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ, round a Temple of Eight Columns: And another of the same Emperor, in *F. Harduin's* admirable Book of the Medals of Ancient People and City's, where there are Two Temples with this Inscription, ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΕΩΝ ΔΙΕ ΝΕΩΚ.; one of which Temples was that which *Soterus* procured Leave for his Countrymen to build. City's were called *Neocoræ* of an Emperor, or *Neocoræ* of a God, which had Temples erected in them to the Honour of that Emperor or Deity, or had leave given them to celebrate public Games in their City's in the Name of the Province of which they were *Metropoles*, to the Honor of that Emperor or that God. This being a mighty Privilege, was not usually granted without the leave of the Senate, that it might appear to be the more August. See *Harduin's Nummi Populorum & Urb. V. ΑΒΟΛΛΑΙΩΝ*.

Pag. 197.

(g) *Lampridius* and *Dion* say it was *Claudius Pompeianus* that undertook to stab *Commodus*, and told him that the Senate sent him the Dagger which he shew'd him at the Entry of the Amphitheater. What we have of *Dion* is only *Xiphilin's* Epitome, and in this place inconsistent with itself. *Lampridius's* whole Life of *Commodus* has so many Inconsistency's, that where he contradicts either *Herodian* or *Dion*, very little weight is to be layd upon what he say's. Old *Pompeianus* was alive after *Commodus's* Death, for we hear of him in the Reigns of *Pertinax* and *Severus*: It is not likely he would have survived his Son, if he had been concerned in this Conspiracy. *Herodian* say's that *Lucilla* durst not acquaint her Husband *Pompeianus* with the Plot, because she knew he loved *Commodus* too well to have any Hand in it. And young *Pompeianus* was killed long after by *Caracalla*. (*Herod. l. 4 § 11.*) So that it was certainly not that Son whom the Elder *Pompeianus* had by *Lucilla*; and we hear of no more that he had by a former

mer Wife. If there was a Son by a prior Venter, then 'tis very probable that *Lucilla's* Unfaithfulness to his Father's Bed, would create in him so great an abhorrence of her, that he would never join with her in so dangerous a Design. These seem to be good Reasons why *Herodian's* Authority ought in this case to outweigh the Testimony's of *Dion Cassius* and *Lampridius*.

(b) It is uncertain whether the Cognomen of the two *S. Quinctili*, Uncle and Nephew, be *Condianus* or *Gordianus*. *Dion Cassius*, and the *Fast* of *Theon*, published by the most Learned Mr. *Dodwell* at the end of his *Cyprianic Dissertations*, call them *Condiant*. *Dion* indeed calls the Uncle *Cardianus* (p. 819. B.); but since in the same Page he calls the Nephew *Condianus*, it is plain the first Reading is false. On the other hand, *Cassiodore*, *Eusebius*, and the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, call them *Gordiani*. *Card. Noris* in his *Epistola Consularis*, allow's *Condianus* to have been the Cognomen of the Nephew, who was Consul with *Bruttius Prasens* in the Year CLXXX. If it be the right Name of the Nephew, it is so of the Uncle. I encline to think that *Condianus* is the true Name, because it is more likely that the Historians should agree in the right Name, than the Chronographers, who might probably copy from one another. *Cassiodore* for the purpose from the *Latin Eusebius*, and the *Alexandrian Chronicle* from the *Greek* one. I mention not the Authority of *Lampridius*, who probably read *Condianus* in these words; *Demus preterea Quintiliorum omnis extincta: quod Sextus Condiani F. specie mortis ad defectionem diceretur evasisse.* (In *Commod.* cap. 4.) But no Edition of *Lampridius* that I have seen reads it *Condiani*, but *Boxhornius's*, who follow'd *Isaac Gassaubon's* Emendation; the other Editions having it *Cocidiani*. But the *Palatine MS.* which *Salmasius* and *Gruter* had both used, having it *Concidiani*, or *Condiciani*, there is no doubt to be made of the Goodness of *Gassaubon's* Correction.

Page. 198.

(i) Two of these Medals are preserved by *Medio-barbus* p. 225. ad annum CXC. In one, *Cybele* rides upon a Lion, with this Inscription round, MATRI DEUM CONSERV. AUG. COS. VI. P. P. S. C. This Medal is also in *Angelini's Historia Augusta*, p. 178. n. 12.

Page. 210.

Edig.

*Edit. 2.* In the second there is the same Image, with this Supercription, MATRI-DEUM SALUTARI COS. VI. P. P. S. C. The sixth Consulat shew's these Coin's were not stamp'd before the Year CXC. Now *Commodus's* deliverance cannot be set lower than CLXXXVII; i. e. the Year after the death of *Perennis*. For *Herodian* in his Account of *Commodus*, which is the most accurate of any we have, says, *that soon after Perennis's* death, *Χρόνῳ ἑπολλῷ διαγνομένη, Maternus's* Rising broke out. Then the death of *Maternus* must not be set so low as CXC. Consequently it is likely that at every return of the *Megalestian* Games, during *Commodus's* Life, Medals were stamp'd by the Senate's Order to *Cybele*, in remembrance of this great Deliverance.

Pag. 211.

(k) *Mediobarbus* produces a Coin struck in the Year CLXXXVI, inscribed thus upon the Reverse, TR. P. XI. IMP. VIII. COS. V. P. P. S. C. PROVID. AUG. with a Ship under sail, without Oars. *Mediobarbus* refers this Medal to *Commodus's* ordering of this Fleet to go into *Africa* to fetch Corn for the Use of the City. *Perennis* was killed in the Year CLXXXVI; so that it seems to have been one of those popular Actions which *Commodus* did at that time to regain the favor of the People.

Pag. 214.

lib. 1. §. 37.

(l) The Account of *Cleander's* disgrace is differently told by *Herodian* and *Dion Cassius*. *Herodian* says, Σίτε πλείστον σιωπῶν μένουσιν, καὶ ἀποκλείουσιν, ἢ λαπρὲς προσαιξάδων τὸν τε δῆμον καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, εἰ πρῶτον ἐν σπάνει τῆς ἐπιτηδείων κατασχέσας, ἐπιδοῦσι λαίμαργα αἰλόντας, πόθρ' οὐ χρεώδεις προσαγάρτοιτο. It is plain here that *Herodian* attributes the withholding of the Corn to *Cleander*, who reckon'd upon securing the People and Army to himself at any time, by making a gratuitous distribution of Corn amongst them when they should most stand in need of it. *Dion* on the other hand lay's it all to the door of the *Præfect* of the Corn. Ἐγνώστο μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως ἰσχυρὰ σιτοδεία, ὅτι πλείστον δι' αὐτὴν Παπίου Διονύσιον, ὅτι τὲ σίτε τεταγμένον ἐπύκνωσεν, ἢ ὡς αἰπώτατον αὐτῆς ἢ Κλέανδρον ἀπὸ τῆς κλεμμάτων ὄντα, καὶ μισήσωσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ διαφθείρωσι. It is probable that after *Cleander* was killed, *Papirius* might

P. 223. A. B.

might pretend that he withheld the Corn in Hatred to *Cleander*, that the People might rise upon him and tear him to pieces; tho at the same time I question not but *Herodian's* Account is the truest, and that *Cleander* privately ordered *Papirius* to buy up the Corn, in hopes by inflaming the People, who would look no further than the immediate Officer that hurt them, to bring them to join with him in his designs. It is no new thing for Ministers to pretend Merit afterwards for things which at first were quite otherwise intended. When *Papirius* saw *Cleander* was killed, and that *Commodus* made his Court to the People by sacrificing the Children and Creatures of *Cleander* to their Rage, it was time for him then to say that he outdid his Master's Orders, the sooner to bring him to Ruine. *Papirius* had no other way then left to save himself.

Pag. 222.

(m) *Mediobarbus* has Medals of most of these things. In the Year CLXXXVII, he produces one with REST. PIET. TR. POT. XII. Several with AUCT. PIET. TR. POT. XII. All which come within that Year. Also another Noble Medal to *Sarapis* with this Inscription, SARAPIDI CONSERV. AUG. round the Image, which has a flat Basket on its Head. Another of the same Year has inscribed, JOVI JUVENI P. M. TR. P. XII. IMP. VIII. COS. V. P. P. S. C. round a *Jupiter*, that has a Spear in one Hand, Lightning in the other, and an Eagle at his Feet. S. C. shew's that the Senate were so infamously mean as to give him that Title. In the Year CLXXXVIII, the Senate called him *Apello Palatinus*, as appears from this Coin in *Mediobarbus*, APOL. PAL. IMP. VIII. TR. POT. XIII. COS. V. S. C. unless you will carry back that Coin to the foregoing Year, wherein he was TR. POT. XII. XIII. And *Morellius* produces a beautiful Medaglion of *Commodus*, (*Spec. Rei nummaria*,) stamp'd in the Year CXC, with this Inscription, APOL. PALATI. NO P. M. TR. P. XVI. IMP. VIII. COS. VI. P. P. round a *Victory*, presenting *Apello*, i. e. *Commodus*, with a Lyre. In which Year also I find him called *Apello Moneta*, by order of the Senate; APOL. MONETAE P. M. TR. P. XV. IMP. VIII. COS. VI. S. C. *Mediobarb. ad annum CXC.*

P. 20.  
Edit. Paris.

(d) No-

Pag. 123.

(n) Nothing is more frequent than Coin's of *Commodus* intimating his mad passion for *Hercules*. *Angeloni* produces a Medal stamped by order of the Senate, having on one side *Commodus's* Head covered behind with a *Lion's Skin*, like a Cowl coming a little over his Forehead; on the Reverse is a Laurel Crown, and within that this Inscription, **HERCULI ROMANO AUG. S. C.** in the midst of which is *Hercules's Club*. He has another stamped too by the Senate's Order, inscribed thus, **HERCULI COMMODIANO P.M. TR.P.XVI.** *Mediobarbus* and *Occo* produce a great many stamped in the three last Years of his Life, but most in the last Year of all, in which there are **HERC. ROM. HERC. COMMODIAN.** and sometimes **HERC. ROM. COND.** with some of the Ensigns of *Hercules* struck upon most of them.

Pag. 128.

(o) The Order of the Months as preserved by *Dion Cassius*, is this:

**JANUARY AMAZONIUS.**

**FEBRUARY INVICTUS.**

**MARCH FELIX.**

**APRIL PIUS.**

**MAY LUCIUS.**

**JUNE ABLIUS.**

**JULY AURELIUS.**

**AUGUST COMMODIUS, or COMMODUS.**

**SEPTEMBER AUGUSTUS.**

**OCTOBER HERCULEUS.**

**NOVEMBER ROMANUS.**

**DECEMBER EXSUPERATORIUS.**

The Reason of all these Names is not difficult to be assigned.

The Year was begun with **AMAZONIUS** to do Honour to his Mistress *Marcia*. *Lampridius* in *Commodo*, cap. 11. *Amazonius autem vocatus est ex amore Concubinae suae Marciae, quam pictam in Amazona deligebat: propter quam & ipse Amazonico habitu in Harenam Romanam procedere voluit.* **INVICTUS** and **EXSUPERATORIUS** were Titles that *Commodus* loved, because he thought they were his due, upon the account of his wonderful dexterity in killing the wildest Beasts that could be brought upon the *Amphitheater*. **PIUS** and **FELIX**

**FELIX** were Titles first used by *Commodus*, afterwards they became customary, and inscribed upon the Coins of succeeding Emperors just after their Names, thus ; **M. COMMODUS ANTONINUS P. F. AUG.** *Lampridius* gives this Account of *Commodus's* assuming these Titles ; *Commodus quum Adulteram Matris Consulens designasset, appellatus est PIUS; quum occidisset Perennium, appellatus est FELIX.* In *Commodo* cap. 8. But here must be some mistake : *Perennis* was not killed till the Year **CLXXXVI.** The *Ludi Capitolini* determine that matter fully. *Perennis* was certainly alive till after the Year **CLXXXII.** For according to *Herodian*, *Commodus* follow'd the Advice of his Father's Friends for some Years ; now *Martus* died in **CLXXX** ; so that 'tis not likely that *Perennis* was chief Minister to *Commodus* so soon, as that he could be killed in **CLXXXII.** But from **CLXXXII** to **CLXXXVI**, there were no *Capitolini Games* celebrated ; consequently *Perennis* must have lived till that time. Now in **CLXXXIII**, *Occo* produces Medals stamped by *Commodus*, inscribed thus, **M. COMMODUS ANT. P. FEL. AUG.** and on the Reverse, upon some Coins, **COS. III.** upon others **TR. POT. VII.** Therefore *Commodus* took the Title of **FELIX** before *Perennis* died. It is probable that afterwards, when *Perennis* was killed, the **FELICITY** of *Commodus* was gratulated by the Senate and Soldiers very solemnly ; and the more, because they knew that this Prince affected the Title of **FORTUNATE** as well as that of **PIOUS.** And if that Medal be genuine which *Polycarpus Tenzelius* produces in his *Selecta Numismata* ( *apud Acta Erud. Lips. Mens. Maii MDCXCIII* ) there is no Question but the *Felicity* of *Commodus* was very particularly extolled upon this occasion. The Rarity of that Medal is, that it has a *Latin* Inscription with *Greek* Letters. On one side round his Head, there is **M. KOMOΔ. ANT. ATT. IMQ.** On the other there is a Lion killing a Horse, within a Crown of Laurel, and round the Relievo within the Crown is inscribed, **ΦΟΕΛΙΚΙΤ. ATT.** *Tenzelius* thinks with great probability, that by this Lion *Commodus* is represented killing of *Perennis.* **LUCIUS, AELIUS, AURELIUS, COMMODUS, AUGUSTUS,** were  
Com-

*Commodus's* own Names, and inscribed in that Order upon his Coins in the Years CXCI, and CXCI; when also we find HERCULES ROMANUS upon his Medals; from whence one may conclude that *Commodus* alter'd the Names of the Months but a little while before he died. One may observe from his Medals three several way's of naming himself, used by *Commodus*. Whilst his Father lived, his Coin's generally run thus, L. AUREL. COMMODUS. Some very few have M. ANTONINUS COMMODUS; they are so few, that I question either their being genuine, or truly read. From CLXXX, when *Marcus* died, he writ himself generally thus, M. COMMODUS ANTONINUS, and sometimes without *Marcus*. There are some hundreds of Medals thus inscribed in *Mediobarbus*. This indeed seems to have been his true Name, which he took up after he was *Sole* Emperor. In the Year CXC he grew fantastical, and then his old Names would please him in nothing; his Titles then were L. AEL. AUREL. COMMODUS, AUGUSTUS. In this Order the Months were named. In this order that pompous enumeration of his Titles, mentioned by *Dion Cassius* begins; and this order also is observed in most of his late Coins. The Chronology of *Commodus's* Coins in *Mediobarbus* is not exact, so that no Argument can be drawn against what I say, from the placing of *Commodus's* Coins in that noble Collection, as it might easily be proved, if this were a proper place.

P. 824. D.  
E.

*Ibid.*

(p) There are frequent Medals in memory of this business in the Antiquary's Collections. *Angeleni* produces two. One is by the Senate's Order; 'tis inscribed thus, COL. AN. COM. P. M. TR. P. XV. IMP. VIII. COS. VI. S. C. round a Man leading a Yoak of Oxen, the certain Mark of the leading out, or rather marking out of Ground for a Colony; for this was, forsooth, the Colony of *Antoninus Commodus*; and in all Deeds and public Acts Rome was for about two Years and an half called *Commedianna*. In the other Medal *Commodus* in the dress of *Hercules*, with his Club and Lion's Skin hanging on his Left Arm, leads the Oxen with his Right: And there are several of them in *Mediobarbus*, some of his own, and some out of *Osco*, at the Year CXC.

(q) *Marc-*



(g) *Marcia* likewise used to appear in public armed like an *Amazon*, a fit Companion for the *Roman Hercules*. There is a large Medaglion in *Angeloni* with this Inscription, L. AELIUS AURELIUS COMMODUS AUG. PIUS FELIX, where *Commodus* and *Marcia's* Heads are yoked together; *Marcia* is dressed like an *Amazon* all in Armor, with a Helmet and a Coat of Mail. The Reverse, which is this, P.M. TR. P. XVII. IMP. VIII. COS. VII. P. P. S. C. shew's that it was coyned in CXCII. which was the last Year of *Commodus's* Life. Pag. 231.

(r) There is no Mention of any Children of *Commodus* in the Historians that give an Account of his Life. But here his Coins help us out. *Mediobarbus* produces a Gold Medal of *Commodus's* in the Year CLXXXI, having on the Right Side M. ANTONINUS COMMODUS AUG. round the Emperor's Head, and LIBERI AUG. on the Reverse. This is a demonstration that he once had Children, tho in all probability they died very young. And among the Medals of *Crispina* we find several with JUNO LUCINA S. C. which intimated that the *Senate* had put up public Supplications to that Goddess, for the Empress's safe delivery. This we may suppose would not have been done, if they had not believed she had been with Child, and that too probably more than once. Pag. 237.



T H E

State of the *Roman* Empire,

F R O M

*The Death of Commodus , to the  
Death of Severus.*

S. I. **A**SSOON as *Pertinax* was in quiet Possession of the Empire, he set himself to redress the Abuses that had crept in under *Commodus*, with all possible diligence. He restored all those Family's to their former Honors, whose Fathers had been killed in the late Reign ; and gave leave for their Bodies to be buried in the Sepulchres of their Ancestors. He recalled all that were in banishment for Treason against *Commodus*. He cleared the Senate of those worthless Members that had crept into it ; and restored all those Senators to their Places that had been wrongfully dispossessed of them.

A. C.

193.

Dion p.  
832. B. C.Cap. in  
Pertin.  
cap. 6.  
Dion p.  
832. D.  
Capit. in  
Pertin.  
capp. 7, 8.

A.C. 193. them. He made a Sale of all the Instruments of Luxury, such as Slaves, and Garments and Jewels, which *Commodus* had gathered together to gratify his Lusts; by which he raised Money to supply the Necessity's of his new Government, without burthening the People. In his way of Living he exercised great Frugality; and by not suffering his Wife to take the Title of *Augusta*, nor his Son that of *Cæsar*, but obliging them both to live privately in his own House, just as they did when he was a Subject, he gave the Empire great Hopes that they should be governed by a sober and a modest Prince.

Dion p.  
831. D.  
C. in  
Pert. c. 6.  
& Dion  
p. 833. B.

Idem p.  
834. E.

Id. p 830.  
B.

§. 2. But these Hopes soon vanished. *Pertinax* was for reforming all at once, and that ruined him. In his first Speech to the *Prætorian Cohorts*, upon the Death of *Commodus*, he unhappily dropt an Expression, by which he intimated that what was then out of Order, should by his Vigilance soon be set right. This alarm'd them exceedingly. *Commodus* had allow'd them to do what they would, and winked at all their Oppressions and Rapines, by which they were grown very grievous to the People. A Prince that took such Liberty's as he did,

did, could no other way protect himself: Which plainly shew's how very terrible Standing Forces are under dissolute Princes. The Guards thus discontented, were privately abetted by *Aemilius Lætus*, their General, who did not find his expectations answered by *Pertinax*. He had been one of the greatest Instruments of the Tyranny of *Commodus*, and employed by him in all his Frolics. Severity of Manners, and Frugality, did by no mean's agree with his Temper, and therefore he was willing to be rid of a Prince as soon as he could, who he knew would expect such Qualifications in all his Servants.

A.C.

193.

Herodian  
lib. 2 § 14.

Dion p.

833. A.

§. 3. These Discontents among the Guards came to such a Height in two Months, that they were resolved to kill their Emperor. The first Man they thought upon to succeed him was *Sossius Falco*, Ordinary Consul for that Year: They intended to carry him to the Camp, and declare him Emperor, whilst *Pertinax* was out of Town at *Ostia*, taking care to provide Corn for the Use of the City. When *Pertinax* heard of it, he immediately returned to *Rome*, and complained in the Senate of the Injury that was done to him;

Id. ibid. D.

A.C. 193. *tho* he would not suffer them to condemn *Falco* as Accessary to the Conspiracy of the Soldiers. But *Letus* upon this put several of the Soldiers to death, as privy to that Design, pretending Orders from *Pertinax* to do it, that he might make the Emperor odious to the Soldiers. His Ends were hereby effectually served; for upon this about 200 of them broke into the Palace and killed him; who was so far from making any Resistance, that he went boldly up to them, and expostulated with them the horrible Injustice of what they were going about.

Dio. p. 834. A. B.

Id. ibid. C. D. Herodian lib. 2 §. 18.

§. 4. This end had *Pertinax*, after a short Reign of LXXXVII days. A Prince, who *tho* he wanted Birth, yet had raised himself by slow degree's not only to be the first, but to be the most revered Man in the whole Empire. His Father *Helvius Successus*, who had been once a Slave, was a Charcoal-Merchant in *Liguria*, who bestow'd just Learning enough upon his Son to help him to a Livelihood. His First Employment, which was to teach *Grammar*, did not turn to much Account, so he applied himself to the Sword; *Lollianus Avitus*, who was Consul in CXLIV, was his Patron,

Capitol. in Pertinace. cap. 1.

Capit. it.

Cap. in  
Pert cap. 2.  
Dion p.  
802. E.

Patron, and he procured him a *Centurion's* place. From that he rose to be Prefect of a Cohort in *Syria*, from whence he was removed into *Britain*, where he continued for some time. After that, he was in several Employments, till he got at last to be the Emperor's Procurator in *Dacia*: There he had like to have been undone; for upon some Complaints exhibited against him, he was turned out by *Marcus*, who restored him afterwards at the instance of *Claudius Pompeianus*. *Pompeianus*, who knew his Worth, took him along with him to manage the War against the *Marcemans*, before *Marcus* went against them himself in Person. In that War, wherein he commanded the Auxiliary's, he got so great a Reputation, that *Marcus* brought him into the Senate, and made him Secondary Consul together with his Successor in the Empire *Didius Julianus*. When *Cassius* rose he had some Command in the *East*, but what it was, we know not: All that we know, is, That afterwards *Marcus* made him Governor first of the *Mæsia's*, and then of *Dacia*, when *Cassius's* Rebellion was suppressed. And when *Marcus* died, he was Governor of

A.C.

193.



*Syria*, which was one of the most considerable Governments in the *Roman* Empire. Under *Commodus* he met with Variety of Fortune: Whilest *Perennis* was in Power, he was obliged to live retired in the Countrey, and leave all Public Business. But when *Perennis* was dead, *Commodus* made him amends, and sent him into *Britain* to appease the Troubles that were risen in that Province. The *British* Army which was under great discontents, would have made him Emperor, but he strictly true to *Commodus*, by his Severity reduced the Army back again entirely to their Allegiance. From thence he was sent into *Africa* as *Proconsul*; and that Year that *Commodus* was killed, he had been ordinary *Consul*, and was *Præfect* of the City. Those were the highest Honours in the Senate, and so this gradual Advancement took off from the Obscurity of his Birth; and his Age and Experience made all good Men willingly submit to him. For he was LXVII Years old, and IV Months within III Day's, when he was murder'd.

Dion. l. 73.

p. 834. E.

§. 5. *Pertinax's* Death, which was very suddain, filled the Soldiers with strange



strange hopes. They found it was now wholly in their power to set up and pull down whom they pleased; and without reflecting upon their Numbers, foolishly imagined that the Empire was entirely at their disposal. They resolved therefore to set it to sale, and to give it to the highest Bidder. The Competitors were two, *Flavius Sulpicianus*, Father-in-Law to *Pertinax*, and *Didius Julianus*. *Sulpicianus* was then Governor of the City, made so by his Son-in-Law: He was a worthy Man, and fit to govern, and was at that time in the Camp, having been sent thither by *Pertinax* upon the beginning of the Tumult, to try if he could appease it. The other was a Luxurious Effeminate old Man, who had nothing but his Money to recommend him; and trusting to that to make his way, he went to the Camp, when he heard the Sale was cried, to bid for the Empire. They bid upon one another, one within the Camp, and the other without, till they came to 5000 *Denares* a Man to the Soldiers. So long the Guards listen'd to *Sulpicianus*, that they might bring on *Julianus* to come up the more readily to their Price. When 5000 *De-*  
*nares*

A.C.

193.

Dion p.  
835 A.Idem &  
Herodian  
lib 2 § 22.Dion p.  
835. C. D.

A. C. 193. *nares* were bid, *Julianus* was told, that since *Sulpicianus* had offered so much already, if he would bid any higher, he should have it: So he added 1250 *Denares* more (*a*), and was thereupon declared Emperor, and the Guards immediately carried him to the Senate-House, and obliged the Senate to confirm their Election. For they were afraid of *Sulpicianus*, lest he should have put in for the Empire, onely to be revenged upon them for the Death of *Per-tinax*.

Herodian  
lib. 2. §. 22  
*extreme*.  
Spart. in  
*Juliano*,  
c. 1. p. 2.  
Dion p.  
835 D.

§. 6. This scandalous Election displeased the whole Empire upon many Accounts. The Senate and People of *Rome* could not look without horror upon *Julianus*, who came to his Greatness upon the Ruines of a Prince, from whom so great things were expected if he had lived. The Army's abroad thought the *Prætorian Cohorts*, whose immediate business it was to guard their Emperor, had by this detestable Action forfeited all Right and Title to the Name of Soldiers, and deserved to be treated like common Felons. The Generals too of those Army's thought themselves much fitter for the Empire than one that had bought it like Goods which

Dion p.  
835 C.

which are publicly sold in a Market. For *Julianus* had little besides his Birth to recommend him, and that indeed was Noble. His Great-Grandfather *Salvius Julianus*, who was *Praefect of the City*, and twice *Consul*, was the Man that collected that Body of the *Praetorian Law's*, which *Hadrian* designed to be a standing Rule for Governors of Provinces for the time to come, and which was from thence called the *perpetual Edict*. By his Mother's side also he was descended from the *Didii*, a *Milanese* Family of good Antiquity. His Education had been in *Marcus's* House under *Demitia Lucilla*, *Marcus's* Mother. Her Interest brought him very early into Business; he was dispensed with for his Age, that he might be *Aedile* before his time; after that, *Marcus* soon made him *Prætor*; and then he had a Legion given him in *Germany*, where for his good Services against the *Cauchi*, a People that inhabited near the *Elbe*, that had made an Inroad into the Province, he was rewarded with the *Consulat*. Under *Commodus* he was very near Destruction, being accused of a Conspiracy against the Emperor's Person with *Salvius Julianus*

A.C.

193.

*Vid. Menagii Ament. Juris Civilis, cap. 24.*

*Spartian in Juliano, cap. 1.*

*Il. lib. 3. cap. 2.*

A.C. 193. *lian*us his Kinsman. But *Commodus* having put a great many Senators to death about that time, was willing to be thought merciful by absolving *Didius Julianus*, and so he was acquitted, and his Accuser condemned. He was sent afterwards into *Bithynia*, where *Spartian* say's he lost his Reputation; and he succeeded *Pertinax* a second time in the *Proconsulship* of *Afric*. In these Employments he had gathered a great Estate in ready Money, with which he bought an Empire, that the Commanders of the Army's abroad would not long let him enjoy. Accordingly, three of them set up for themselves, *Pescennius Niger* in the *East*, *Septimius Severus* in *Illyricum*, and *Clodius Albinus* in *Britain*. *Severus* lay the nearest to *Rome*, where *Niger* was most desired; who continuing at *Antioch*, instead of hastning into *Italy*, gave *Severus* opportunity to get before him: For by crossing the *Alpes* with incredible speed, he got to *Ravenna* before any body expected him. The pretence that he gave out for his taking the Empire, was to revenge the Death of *Pertinax*, whose Name *Severus* assumed, to do himself the greater Honor, upon his

first

Dio p.  
836. E.  
Herodian  
lib. 2 §. 26.

Herodian  
lib. 2. § 35.

first being proclaimed in *Illyricum* (b). *Julianus* try'd to make some small Resistance, but it did him no good, for his Courage quite failed him; and when the Senate heard that *Severus* was just upon them, they declared *Julianus* a public Enemy, and order'd him to be killed. After this, *Severus* marched up to *Rome* in a sort of Triumph, with his whole Army at his Heels. The shortness of *Julianus's* Reign shew's what Expedition *Severus* used to seize upon the Empire. *Julianus* reigned but sixty six Day's; and *Severus* lay quietly at *Carinatum* in *Illyricum*, till he heard the New's of the death of *Pertinax*, when he was urged by his Friends to declare for himself.

A. C.  
193.

Dio. p.  
838. E.

Id. p. 839.  
A.  
Spart. in  
Severo, c. 5.

§. 7. This *L. Septimius Severus*, who was the only fortunate Man of all the Three that were Rivals for the Empire after the death of *Pertinax*, was born at *Leptis*, a Maritime Town upon the Coast of *Mauritania*; not far from *Tripoli*, where his Family had been *Equites* for a considerable time, and had not long before been brought into the Senate. Two of his Uncles, *M. Agrippa*, and *L. Septimius Severus*, had been Consuls, and *L. Severus* twice. It was this

Spartian.  
in Severo.  
cap. 1.

A.C.

193.



this Uncle's Interest that brought him into favor with the Emperor *Marcus*, who knew Men as well perhaps as any Man ever did. His Father had early taken care to give him such an Education as might qualify him for any Employment; and he was a Man of very nimble and dextrous Parts, skilful in dissembling his ill qualities, and setting forth his good ones, and consequently able to make his Fortunes, when he was once set in a good Light. He was eminently learned in the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, which did not a little recommend him to *Marcus*, who first prefer'd him: So that when once he was known to that Prince, he rose apace. He was made a Senator very young, and after that was gradually advanced, first to be a *Quæstor* in *Bætica* (where he behaved himself with great Applause), and from thence, after a short remove to the *Quæstorship* of *Sardinia*, he was appointed to go as *Legate* to the *Proconsul* of *Afric*. That Legation being performed, *Marcus* made him first *Tribune of the People*, (for the execution of which Office he is exceedingly commended), and then *Praetor* when he was but Thirty two Years old. About this time he

mar.

Id. ibid.  
c. 2.

Id. ibid.  
c. 3.

married his first Wife *Marcia*, by whom he had no Children that we know of. After his Prætorship was over, we hear of him in *Syria*, where he commanded a Legion. There his Wife *Marcia* being dead, he married *Julia Domna*, a *Syrian*, Daughter of *Bassianus*, Priest of the Sun at *Emesa*, by whom he had two Sons, *Bassianus* ( afterwards called *M. Antoninus*, and by way of Reproach *Cæsaralla* ) and *Geta*. From the Command of the Fourth *Scythic* Legion in *Syria* (c), *Severus* was removed into *Gallia Lugdunensis*, in the Administration of which Government he raised his Reputation to a very high pitch. The Magnificence of his way of living, his Severity towards Offenders, and his unspotted Integrity, gained him the Affections of the People to that degree, that no *Roman* Governor of *Gallia Lugdunensis* was ever beloved so well before him: So that upon his Return, he was sent into *Pannonia*, and then into *Sicily*, with *Proconsular* Power. He had like to have been undone in *Sicily*, upon an Accusation brought against him, as if he had consulted some Astrologers about succeeding *Commodus* in the Empire. But he acquitted himself so well, that

A.C.

193.

Spart. ibid.  
cap. 4.

A.C. 193. that his Accuser was crucify'd; and upon his return out of *Sicily*, after a short interval, by the Interest of *Lætus*, Captain of the Guards, he got to be sent into *Illyricum*, to command the Legions there. The *Illyrian* Frontier lay very open to the barbarous Nations, so that there was alway's a strong Force maintained in that Quarter, and the Command of that Army was looked upon to be one of the most considerable Trusts in the Empire. *Severus* stay'd there till the Death of *Pertinax*, when having a great Army to assist him, he thought he had a fair opportunity to declare for himself. These were the Steps by which this Fortunate Prince rose to his Greatness; of which he is said to have had very strange Presages many Years before. Whatsoever Truth there was in those Presages, he certainly had the advantage of both his Competitors, when once he put in for himself, because he had more Industry, and better Parts than either of them, and stuck at no Methods, though they were never so indirect, or barbarous, by which he thought he might obtain his purpose.

§. 8. *As soon*



§. 8. As soon therefore as he came to *Rome*, that he might strike a Terror into all that should oppose him, he began his Reign with the Punishment of all those who had any hand in the Murder of *Pertinax*. Before he got to *Rome*, he had written to the Officers of the Guards to seize upon all that were actually concerned in that horrid Villany, and to put them to Death. This was done without any delay. The Remainder therefore of the Guards expected that they should have no farther trouble: For *Severus* had promised to pardon them, if they did but secure the immediate Actors in their Emperor's Assassination. When they were order'd therefore to meet him in a Plain near the City, they obey'd without any hesitation. They were commanded to leave their Arms behind in their Camp, and to come with Laurels in their Hands, to congratulate his happy and easy Accession to the Throne. When they were all drawn up in this peaceable posture, the *Illyrian* Legions hem'd them in, and a Party was set between them and the Camp, to prevent their running back, in case they should suspect any Treachery. The *Illyrian* Soldiers were

A.C.

193.

Id. p. 838.  
E.Herodian  
lib 2. § 42,  
43.

T

par-

A.C.

193.

Dion p  
839. A. B.

particularly charged to hurt none of them, but only to take strict care that they should not get away. Being thus enclosed, *Severus* made them a sharp Speech, upbraiding them with their Negligence in guarding their Emperor no better; and then commanded his own Men to strip them of all their Military Clothes, threatening them with Death, if ever they came within a hundred Miles of *Rome*.

§. 9. This exemplary Punishment of these loose and effeminate Guards, struck a mighty Terror every where. The People of *Rome*, who had rather have had *Niger* amongst them, were pleased however to see that *Pertinax* did not die unrevenged; and the Care that *Severus* took to reform the Abuses which the late Troubles had occasioned, procured him much respect. He buried *Pertinax* with great Magnificence, and procured his *Consecration* from the Senate. When this was done, *Severus*'s next business was to suppress *Niger*, who had quietly possessed himself of all the *East*. There was Reason also to dread what *Albinus* might do in his Absence, who had declared for himself in *Britain*. Should *Albinus* be left

Dion p  
841, 842.Spurr. in  
Severus,  
cap. 7.

left unregarded, or should *Niger* be let alone much longer, (Men, who he knew were both better beloved than himself,) all that he had hitherto been doing, might prove to no purpose. *Severus* therefore sent to *Albinus*, and offer'd him the Partnership of the Empire, with the Title of *Cæsar* (d), and resolved to go in Person against *Niger*. *Albinus* accepted his Offer willingly, esteeming it a good Bargain to get that without the Chance of War, which perhaps he could never have obtained with it.

A. G.

193.

Dion p.  
837. D.  
Herodian  
lib. 2. § 48.

§. 10. And now *Severus* hasten'd into the *East*: *Niger* lay still at *Antioch*, and sent *Aemilianus* his Lieutenant-General to meet him. He took care also to secure *Byzantium*, a very strong Town upon the *Thracian Bosphorus*, that commanded the whole Navigation of the *Euxine* Sea; which did exceedingly incommode *Severus*. But nothing could withstand the rapid Fortune of this prosperous Prince. For whether he were in Person in any Engagement, or left his Business to Lieutenant-Generals, he was equally successful. In his Wars against *Niger* he did nothing himself, but his Presence was no where

Id. lib. 3.  
§ 2.

A.C.  
193,  
E.C.



Dion p.  
842. D.

Idem ibid.  
& E.

Id. p. 843.  
A.

Id. p. 844.  
A. B.

wanting. He sent an Army which did their Work with great success, and equal diligence. Their first landing was in the Lesser *Asia*, near *Cyzicus*, where they fought with *Aemilianus*, whom they slew, and after that engaged with *Niger* himself, whom they overcame in two Battles: The first was fought near *Nice* in *Bitbynia*, a City that was very faithful to *Niger's* Interest; where his Army had been quite cut off, if they had not saved themselves by retreating into the City. The second was near the Bay of *Iffus*, at the Straights of *Cilicia*, where *Alexander* the Great had formerly overthrown *Darius*. In every Battle *Severus's* Armies were victorious. *Niger* then made his Escape to *Antioch*, where finding that he could not be safe, he ran away towards the *Euphrates*, thinking he might be secure amongst the *Barbarians*. But being vigorously pursued, he was soon overtaken by some Soldiers, who cut off his Head, and carried it to *Severus*.

§.11. This Success made *Severus* resolve to push forward, and punish all those *Eastern* Princes who had taken part with *Niger*. The *Partbians* and

*Adia-*

*Adiabeni*ans had sent in Men to his Assistance, and therefore *Severus* first fell upon them. In an Irruption which he made into *Parthia*, he took *Nisibis*, which he made the Frontier-Town of the Empire on that side. Whilst he was in *Mesopotamia*, he heard that *Byzantium* had at last surrendered. That City declared at first for *Niger*, and after he was dead would not come in to *Severus*, but held out against him, and endured one of the sharpest Sieges that can any where be met with. The Surrender of *Byzantium* made him absolute in the *East*, and he thought it long till he was so likewise in the *West*. He returned therefore in the Year CXCVI into *Italy*, loaden with the Titles of *Parthicus Arabicus*, and *Parthicus Adiabenicus*, resolving now to get rid of *Albinus* as soon as he could.

A. C.

193,

E. C.

Ib. p. 849.  
E.Dion p.  
847. A.

A. C.

196.

Medio.  
ad annum  
196.

S. 12. And it was time; for during his absence *Albinus* had made himself very acceptable to the Senate: Whether by the Gentleness of his Government in *Britain* and *Gaule*, or thro' the dread they had of *Severus*, or both, we know not. For *Severus* answered his Name in every thing (*e*), inexorable towards his Enemy's, tho' kind to his

A.C. 196. Friends; rough and untractable in his Manners, tho' exact in his distribution of Justice, and very careful to supply the People of *Rome* with all Provisions, even before they wanted. Yet these good Quality's did not over-balance his bad ones in the opinion of the Senate. They did not early enough come over to him, who made his way wholly by the Sword. And the propensity which they shew'd towards *Albinus*, might perhaps hasten his Ruine, as it certainly did theirs. Besides, *Severus's* Sons *Caracalla* and *Geta* began now to grow up, and the Old Man passionately longed to leave them both his Successors. *Albinus* therefore was of necessity to be removed, and accordingly an Army was sent against him. At first *Albinus* had the advantage; but then *Severus* (whose Generals had fought all his former Battles against *Niger*) met him in Person at *Lions*, in *February* CXCVII, and after a very obstinate Fight routed his Army, and forced him to make his escape. But that was to little purpose, for he was soon killed, and his Head carried to *Severus*, who sent it erected upon a Pole in triumph to *Rome*; whither also he returned him.

A.C.  
197.

Spart. in  
Severus,  
cap. 11.

Dion p.  
853. A.

himself, after he had raised a very great Sum of Mony, by confiscating the Estates of the most considerable Men of *Albinus's* Party in *Gaule*. When he returned to *Rome*, he upbraided the Senate with their Love to *Albinus*, and their Ingratitude to him, who had done so great things to bring the Empire again to Peace; and put above Forty of them to death, as Men that had been convicted of favouring of *Albinus*, who had all born the chiefest Offices in the Commonwealth. But the Senate could not hate him so much as the Soldiers and the People loved him; for his Distributions to them were very noble, and the Spectacles which he exhibited were magnificent and frequent, and they enjoy'd great Plenty all his Reign. And for his Soldiers, no Emperor before him ever gave them so much Money, or so great Privileges as he did. His Donative upon his Victory over *Albinus*, exceeded all that had been ever given before; and besides, he encreased their Pay, and suffered them to live with their Wives in their Quarters, which till then had not been allowed. This effectually secured the Government to himself and his Sons,

A.C.

197.

Herodian  
lib. 3. § 24.  
Spart. in  
Severo,  
cap. 11.

Spart. Se-  
vero. c. 13.

Herodian  
lib. 3. § 29.

A.C. 197. tho it proved the Ruine of *Severus Alexander*, afterwards, and threw the Empire into such Confusions as were never tolerably removed till the time of *Diocletian*.

A.C. 198. S. 13. *Severus* being now in full Possession of the Empire, declares his Eldest Son Partner with him in the Empire, giving him the *Tribunitial Power*, and the Title of *Augustus*, in the Year CXCVIII, when he was not Eleven Years (*f*) old. Upon his making his Eldest Son Colleague with him in the Empire, he changed his Name, and called him *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. His former Name was *Bassianus*, in memory of *Bassianus* his Grandfather, *Julia Domna's* Father, who was Priest of the Sun in *Emesa*, a City of *Phoenicia*. This is the Emperor who was afterwards called *Caracalla*, after *Severus* was dead. And now all Home-Troubles being as he thought entirely at an end, *Severus* willing to get a just pretence for triumphing, which he could not decently do over his Countreymen, whom he had chiefly hitherto fought against, resolved to chastise *Barsenius* King of the *Atreni*, a Tribe of the *Arabs*, that lived near *Mesopotamia* (*g*). This *Barsenius* (*b*)

Ant. Vi-  
tor in E-  
pitoma in  
Heliog.

Herodian  
lib. 3 S. 27.



(b) was a Prince that had been more than ordinarily officious in sending Supply's formerly to *Niger*, against *Severus*. How he came to be let alone so long, is very wonderful; for *Severus* was in *Mesopotamia* before in CXCIV, when he took *Nisibis*; so that one would have thought the Siege of *Atræ* ought to have been placed in that Year, if *Herodian* had not positively told us that *Severus*'s pretence for his second Expedition into the *East*, was that he might be revenged upon this *Barsemeus*. Perhaps *Severus* foresaw it would prove a sharp and a long War, and so chose to defer it till he should perfectly be at leisure. For *Atræ*, the Metropolis of this small Principality, stood upon a Hill, which as the Methods were of making War in those Ages of the World, was almost inaccessible. *Trajan* the Emperor, who seldom used to be repulsed, had formerly in Person besieged it a little before his death to no purpose (i). Him, *Severus*, who wanted not Ambition, was eager to outdo, and therefore with a mighty Army sat down before the Place himself. The besieged being aware of *Severus*'s coming, had got all things ready for a long Siege: So that after

*Severus*

A.C.

199,

Ec.

*Idem ibid.*

*Ammian.*

*Marcell.*

*lib. 25. c. 8.*

A.C.

199,

C.C.

Herodian  
lib. 3 § 29.

*Severus* had try'd all imaginable way's to take the Town, he was forced to rise from thence with disgrace. When he had rais'd the Siege, he put his Army aboard a Fleet, with which he resolv'd to sail up the River *Euphrates*, till he should come to his own Dominions. But when he was aboard, the Current proving stronger than he expected, carried him down till he came to the place where the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris* meet, which was within a few day's journey of *Ctesiphon*, the Seat of *Artabanus* King of *Parthia*, who lay quietly there, thinking nothing of a War, nor concerning himself with the differences between the *Romans* and the *Atreni*. The *Romans* landing in a Country which did not look for them, resolv'd to make themselves amends for their Losses at *Atræ*, and wasted all they came to, plundering *Ctesiphon*, and forcing the *Parthians* to retire up into the Country in great confusion. Upon this dishonourable Victory, *Severus* returned home in Triumph, thinking himself now sufficiently recompens'd for his former disgrace: Which was by so much the more grievous, by how much it was unusual. For in the whole Course

Course of his busy Reign, this was the only time that any of his Enemy's were ever able to get any considerable advantage over him.

A.C.

200.

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§. 14. This is the Account which *Herodian* gives of this War. *Dion Cassius*, on the other hand, say's, That the King of *Parthia* had formerly taken the opportunity of *Severus's* being engaged in the War with *Albinus*, and made an Incursion at that time into *Mesopotamia*, where he had certainly retaken *Nisibis*, if *Letus* the Governor of the City had not preserved it. And this, according to *Dion*, was the true Reason of this Second Expedition of *Severus* into the *East*. Where when he found that the *Parthians* had retreated, he built a Fleet upon the *Euphrates*, with which he convey'd his Men into the Heart of the Enemy's Countrey, and took *Seleucia*, *Ctesiphon*, and *Babylon*, plundring and wasting wherever he came. This is the likeliest Account of the two; and it agrees best with the Character of *Severus*, who would scarcely have undertaken so tedious an Expedition, only to be revenged upon a Petty Prince of the *Atreni*, for assisting *Pescennius Niger* so long before, when

P. 253. R.

P. 254. R.

A.C. 200, *Ec.* when that might as well have been done by some of his Lieutenants: Nor would he have invaded *Vologæsus* (R) King of *Parthia*, and plunder'd his Countrey, and burnt his City's, without any provocation at all, onely because he had had ill success before, against another Adversary.

A.C. 202. S. 15. In the Tenth Year of his Reign, *Severus* returned home; and triumphed with great Magnificence over all those Nations which he had subdued in both his Expeditions; having assumed the Title of *Parthicus Maximus*, from his taking *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon* in the Year CC. He celebrated likewise the Games which were customary every Tenth Year of an Emperor's Reign; and married his Son *Caracalla* with *Plautilla*, the Daughter of his Favourite *Plantianus*. He chose to do all these either just together (I), or soon after one another, that he might by outdoing all the Emperors that had ever been before, make the People and Soldiers easy, and obliterate the Memory of his former Severity's. He gave to all the People that used to receive Congiary's, and to all the Guards Ten *Aurei* a Man; which Donative cost him  
above

Mediob.  
ad annum  
200.  
Dion p.  
859. B.

*Id. ibid.*

above a Million and a half of out (m) Money. His Spectacles were almost beyond belief. The Pit of the Amphitheater, as *Dion* describes it, was like a Ship, contrived so as to hold an incredible number of Wild Beasts, such as Lions, Panthers, Wild Bulls, Wild Asses, Ostriches, and other strange Creatures, which upon the Signal given came out all together, and running at one another were killed. This was repeated seven day's together, in which DCC Beasts were destroyed, every day a hundred. And Medals of these very Spectacles are still preserved in Gold and Silver, with the J O Y of the T I M E S inscribed upon them, which have a Ship in the middle, with Chariots on each side, and several Species of Animals underneath. And not contented with this, in the Year CCIV. *Severus* celebrated the *Secular Games*, which had not been celebrated for CXVI Years before, which as they were the most splendid of any regular Feasts among the *Romans*, so *Severus* was not behind-hand in any thing that had been customary to be done, to make them so.

A. C.

202.

P. 860. B.

Mediob. &  
Vaillant.  
Præstant.  
Imp. Numism. &  
Morellius  
Tab. VI.  
Edit. Lips.

Mediob.  
ad Annum  
204.

AC.  
204.  
Herodian  
lib. 3. § 32.

Id. ibid.  
§ 37.

S. 16. Now *Severus* thought himself secure, and wholly attended to the Government of the Empire, and the Education of his Sons, whom he designed to leave behind him as his Successors, with joint Power. In five or six Year's that he stay'd at home, he met with little or no disturbance, but what was given him by his Favorite *Plautianus*; who lifted up with his Prosperity, was grown excessively insolent; and being too big for a Subject, aimed at the Empire. To obtain this, he tamper'd with a Tribune of the Guards to kill *Severus*, and his Eldest Son *Caracalla*; after which, he thought he should meet with no difficulty in compassing his Designs.

S. 17. *Caracalla* was a Prince of a hot violent Temper, eager of Power; scarcely willing to submit to his Father, and much less to any body else. *Severus*, upon his return out of the East in CCH, had obliged him to marry *Fulvia Plautilla*, the Daughter of *Fulvius Plautianus*, thereby supposing that he had secured the Interests of his Son and Favorite at once. For notwithstanding all *Plautianus's* Insolency's, *Severus* still loved him, and continued to do

do so to the very last. But *Caracalla* soon shew'd an Aversion to his Wife; whether for her Father's sake, whose Freedom he could no longer bear with, or for her own, is uncertain. This made *Plantianus* hasten, who dreaded *Caracalla's* Anger, and perceived that *Severus* grew sickly, and consequently was not likely to live much longer. He communicated his Intentions to *Saturninus* a Tribune of the Guards (u), commanding him when he was in waiting, to kill the Two Emperors in the Night, and then to send for him, who would easily get himself proclaimed Emperor. *Saturninus* for his own security takes these Orders in writing under *Plantianus's* hand, and then discovered the Treachery to *Severus*. Upon this, *Plantianus* was sent for in haste to the Palace, who supposing that *Saturninus* had executed his Commission, came readily, and was immediately cut off. Thus *Herodian* tells the Story: But *Dion* say's it was a Design originally layd by *Caracalla*, who got *Plantianus's* hand to be counterfeited, that *Severus* might consent to have him killed; and suborned *Saturninus* and two other Centurions to confess that they were employ'd

A.C.

204.

Herodian  
ubi supra.Pag. 861.  
B. C.

A.C. ploy'd by *Plautianus* to kill the Em-  
 204. perors.

*¶* 18. Be this as it will, *Plautianus* came thus to his End; who sufficiently deserved what he met with, by the consent of all the Ancient Historians, for his Insolence, his Avarice, and his Cruelty. *Severus*, who never forsook a Friend in extremity, was loath to part with him, even to the very last. And besides, it is very probable that he foreseeing *Caracalla's* Temper, was willing *Plautianus* should be a Curb upon him. *Plautianus* would certainly have been so, if he had lived; for before his Death he took a freedom in reprehending *Caracalla* upon all occasions; which that young Prince could not bear. But that was his Ruine, and perhaps *Caracalla's* too. For now having none to fear but his Father, he gave himself up to all manner of Excesses, neglecting every thing which was worthy of a Prince, and minding little, but Public Sports, wherein he and his Brother *Geta* alway's taking different sides, occasioned great Confusion.

Herodian

lib. 3. §. 33.

Dion p.

863. B.

*¶* 19. This was a melancholy Prospect to old *Severus*, who had thro a Sea of Blood made way for his Family to



to reign quietly, if they had pleased. He omitted no care of his Sons Education; and as he was very learned himself, so he got the best Masters for his Sons, that could be had. He chiefly lived in the Countrey, that he might wean them by degree's from the Luxury of the City, and that they might have the more time to follow their Study's. He continually exhorted them to mutual Concord, by letting them see their strength if they were united; which as nothing could break, so long as they kept together, so nothing could support, if once they should disagree. When all this proved fruitless, he try'd what a Foreign War would do, and resolved therefore to take the first opportunity that should offer it self.

A.C.

204,

E.C.

Herodian,  
lib. 3. § 43

Id. ibid.  
§. 44.

§. 20. It was not long before he had a very plausible one. The *Picts* who inhabited that *Northern* part of *Britain* which was not subject to the *Romans*, had made several Irruptions into the *South*, and given the *Roman* Lieutenant so much trouble, that he writ to the Emperor, either to send more Forces, or to come himself in Person to suppress them. *Severus*, as

Id. ibid.  
§. 45.

A.C. 208, *Ec.*  
 old and infirm as he was, was still as youthful in his Disposition as ever. He hoped this Expedition might tame his Sons; however, he was sure it would remove them from the Town, and that would for the time at least keep them out of the way of Vice. He went therefore from *Rome* in the Year CCVIII, resolving to stay in *Britain* till he had reduced the whole Island under the *Roman* Power. When the *Picts*, who were then divided into two great Body's, the *Caledonians* and the *Mæatae*, heard of the Emperor's coming, they offer'd Conditions of Peace. This not suiting with *Severus's* designs, he rejected them, declaring that he was resolved to punish them for all their former Insurrections. Accordingly, the next Year he went in Person thro the whole length of that Countrey which is now called *Scotland*, till he came to the most *Northerly* parts of the Island. He found no Enemy whereever he went. The *Caledonians* hid themselves in Woods and Marishes, and in the most inaccessible places of the *Highlands*, where he could never come at them in a Body to give them Battle. They would indeed often make Excursions in

Dion p.  
 866. C.

Id. p 866,  
 867.

in small Parties, and if any of his Men straggled, they cut them off; by which means, joined with the Severity of the Climate, where *Severus's* Army endured all that was possible for Men to suffer, he lost above 50,000 of his Men. Yet nothing of this sort discouraged this resolute Emperor, who was carried all the way in a close Litter, being unable to ride on Horseback, because of the Gout. The *Caledonians* finding at last, that he was not to be tired out, came to Terms, and surrendering some part of their Countrey, got a Peace.

S. 21. *Severus* upon that retired to *York*, which was his principal place of Residence till he died. To secure his Conquests, he built a Wall from Sea to Sea, between *Tine* and *Solway-Frith*, as some Antiquary's suppose (o); or as others, with the *Scottish* Antiquaries, do perhaps with more probability maintain, between the *Friths* of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbritton*. During the whole management of this War, he had left *Geta* in the Province to govern that, whilst he took *Caracalla* with him to manage the War against the *Picts*. *Caracalla's* business was not so much to

A. G.  
208,  
Ec.  
~

Herodian  
lib. 3. s. 48.

A.C.

209,

E.C.



Dion p.  
867. E. &  
p 868.  
A. B.

Spartian.  
in Severo.  
cap. 18.

attend the War, as to secure the Soldiers to himself; for he was very uneasy at the Thoughts of his Brother's being Partner with him in the Empire, and had much ado to bear with his Father, whose Death he passionately longed for. Once when they were drawing up their Army, at the Head of the Troops, *Caracalla* checking his Horse, got behind his Father, and drew his Sword, with a design, as it was supposed, to run him thro the Back. The Soldiers that were near cry'd out, and so prevented him. *Severus* upon their Cry, turning swiftly back, saw his naked Sword, and took no notice of it then; but when the business was over, he called his Son to him, and expostulated with him upon the Horridness of his Crime, which he was just going to commit. Another time *Caracalla* got a Company of Soldiers together, who cry'd out, That he ought to be the *Sole Augustus*; and that *Severus*, who thro Weakness lengthned out the War, was unfit to govern any longer: Which when the old Man heard of, he called them all before him, and commanded all the Delinquents to be punished but his Son.

The

The Authors of the Mutiny finding this, desired to be forgiven; and he commanded them to take notice for the future, that he governed with his *Head*, and not with his *Feet*. A. C. 211.

S. 22. Thus with difficulty *Severus* kept himself upon the Throne. But his Son's disobedience broke his Heart. He lingred long with violent Pains in all his Limbs, which with his Son's assistance (who was not wanting in every respect to do what in him lay to hasten his Father's Death) at last took him off at *Tork*, Feb. 4. CCXI. after he had reigned XVIII Years, VIII Months, and III Day's, reckoning (as *Dion* does) from June 2. CXCIII, when he was declared Emperor by the Senate. He was rather an useful Prince, than a good one. His Severity's to all that opposed him, made him dreaded whilst he lived, and hated too by the Friends and Relations of those whom he cut off. And besides, most of those that suffer'd were the more to be pity'd, because what they suffer'd for, was their Misfortune, rather than their Fault. *Niger* and *Albinus* took up Arms for the same Reason that *Severus* did, to revenge the Death of *Pertinax*, Herodian lib. 3. §. 49.

A.C. and to prevent so noble an Empire from  
 211. lying at the mercy of a profligate Body  
 of Soldiers, who instead of guarding  
 their Prince, basely murder'd him, be-  
 cause he went about to curb their Irre-  
 gularity's. Fortune only distinguisht  
*Severus* from the rest. It was a barba-  
 rous thing therefore to pursue *Niger*  
 and *Albinus* as Rebels rather than Ene-  
 my's, and to kill such Numbers of  
 Senators as he did, for siding with  
 the other Party's, onely to get their  
 Estates (*p*). *Cassius Clemens's* defence,  
 which he made for himself when he  
 was try'd by *Severus*, was a very just  
 one. He was a Senator that had joined  
 with *Niger* in the *East*. " I knew,  
 " sayd he to *Severus*, neither you nor  
 " *Niger* at first. But living in that Di-  
 " vision of the Empire which obey'd  
 " him, I necessarily took that side that  
 " was before me, not with a design to  
 " oppose you, but to pull down *Ju-*  
 " *lianus*. Here therefore I did you no  
 " Injustice, when at first I pursued the  
 " same Ends with your self: Nor did I  
 " any to you afterwards, when I  
 " would not change the side which Pro-  
 " vidence directed me at first to follow.  
 " Would you have been well pleased, if  
 " any

Herodian  
 lib 3 § 26.

Dion Caf-  
 sius p.  
 844. B C.  
 D.

“ any of those that now set with you  
 “ upon the Bench to judge us, should  
 “ have betray’d you, and gone over to  
 “ *Niger*? Consider not who we are, nor  
 “ how we are called, but consider the  
 “ *things* themselves. The Sentence you  
 “ pass upon us, be it what it will, you  
 “ pass at the same time upon your self  
 “ and your Assessors. And tho per-  
 “ haps no formal Verdict may ever be  
 “ given against you, yet in the opinion  
 “ of Mankind, which will alway’s be  
 “ remembred, you will be thought to  
 “ condemn *those things* in every body  
 “ else, for which you punish us.

AC.

211.

§. 23. The Character which has been  
 already given of *Severus*, will, I sup-  
 pose, make it easily be believed that  
 there was a violent Persecution of the  
 Christians in all parts of the Empire,  
 during his Reign. A Persecution that  
 leaves *Severus* under the blackest Impu-  
 tation of Ingratitude, who had been re-  
 covered formerly out of a Fit of Sicknes,  
 by the Intercession of one *Proculus Torpa-*  
*cio*, a Christian, that anointed him with  
 Oyl according to the Apostles Com-  
 mand, and the Practice of the Primitive  
 Church: So that *Severus* knew by expe-  
 rience of how great Efficacy the Chri-

Euseb. H.  
 E. lib 6.1.

Jam. V 14.  
 Tertul. ad  
 Scapulam  
 cap. 4.

A.C. 211. Christians Praiers were with the great God of Heaven and Earth. This he was sensible of then, when he sent for *Proculus* (*q*), who was Steward to *Evedus* his Sons Governor, and kept him in the Palace till he died. And suitably to this sense of the Benefit which he received from a Christian, when some *Romans* of great Quality of both Sexes were accused afterwards before him for their Religion, he acquitted and applauded them, and openly checked the Madness of the People. His Court seemed to be an Asylum for Christians for a long time; for *Caracalla's* Nurse was a Christian, and when he was a Child he exprest so great an Indignation at the Punishment of one of his Playfellow's who stood up for his Religion, that he was not easily pacify'd. Besides, the Behaviour of the Christians towards *Severus* could not but induce him to be very favorable to them; for he who took notice of every thing, must needs observe that in all his Wars they never appeared against him on any side: They neither joined with *Niger*, nor *Albinus* against him. The Concerns of another Life were chiefly in their view, and they

Dio p.  
861. A.

Tertul.  
ibid.

Spart. in  
Carac. c. 1.

Tert. ad  
Scapulam  
cap. 2.



they willingly left this World to those busy Men who were so desirous to scramble for it, and to put every thing into confusion that they might get it.

A.C.

211.

They looked upon their Emperor as set over them by God, and accounta-

Tertul.

ibid.

ble to him alone; and accordingly they obey'd him with all readiness. What

then could lead *Severus* to publish such rigorous Edicts against the Christians

in the Year CCII? It seems to have been a desire of Popularity, and a wil-

lingness to gratify his Heathen Subjects, when he had no Enemy's at home

or abroad of whom he was afraid. He knew his Cruelty's to his Enemy's had

made him odious; he therefore made these Law's, that he might wipe off

that Imputation amongst a bigotted People, by letting them loose upon the

disarmed Christians, and giving them leave to pursue their Inclinations


against those whom they ignorantly took to be their Enemy's, as well as

he had before exercised his Rage upon those that he knew were his.

§. 24. It is most likely therefore, that *Severus* published his Edicts onely

to gratify the People; and left it to the Lieutenants of the Provinces to exe-

cute

**A.C.** cure them as they pleased. For all that  
**211.** he did, was onely to forbid any persons  
 in his Empire to turn Christians or  
 Jews, under severe Penalties (*r*). Ac-  
**Cap. 4** cordingly *Tertullian* in his *Address to*  
*Scapula*, tells him that *Severus* was mind-  
 ful of the Christians; so far was he from  
 ever persecuting them; and they are  
 little acquainted with the History of  
 that Father, who think that he would  
 have prevaricated upon any occasion.  
 Neither do's *Severus* appear in *Lactan-*  
**De Mort.** *tius's List of Persecutors*, who expressly  
**Persec.** acquits all the Roman Emperors from  
**capp. 3, 4.** *Domitian* down to *Decius*. I speak not  
 this, however, to excuse *Severus*, who  
 tho' no Persecutor himself, gave way  
 to others that were. An Absolute Mo-  
 narch is accountable for the Harms he  
 connives at, as well as for those he  
 enacts. He should have repress't that  
 Persecution, of which he could not be  
 ignorant. The Blood therefore of that  
 glorious Martyr *Leonidas*, *Origen's* Fa-  
**Euseb. H** ther, of that illustrious Virgin *Pota-*  
**E. lib 6.** miaena, with that of *Basilides* the Sol-  
**cap. 1.** dier who attended her to her Persecu-  
**cap. 5.** tion, and by her Constancy was con-  
 verted; together with that of those  
 other almost innumerable Martyrs,  
 whom

whom *Lætus* and *Aquila*, Governors of *Aegypt*, put to Death at *Alexandria*; the Blood of *Perpetua* and *Felicitas*, and those other excellent Saints who suffer'd at this time at *Carthage*; must all be layd to his door.

A.C.

211.

Acta Perp.  
& Felicit.  
Edit. Hol-  
stenii.

§.25. But Cruelty is not the onely Vice which *Severus* is taxed with: He was as false as he was cruel, when he thought it was necessary to gain his Ends. He was treacherous to *Albinus* to the last degree. Whilst *Niger* was to be feared, *Albinus* was carest; taken into Partnership of the Empire; joined in the Consulship, and what not? But when *Niger* was dead, then *Albinus* was to be removed, and Assassinations were try'd, before he went to open Force. These things have made *Severus* appear odious to future Ages; and one cannot but admire the just Judgments of God, who cut off the Posterity of *that Prince* in the first Generation, who had laboured so much by all sorts of Methods to secure a lasting Empire to his Family.

§.26. But yet in the main *Severus* was certainly a careful Governor, and indefatigable in preserving that Peace which with so much Blood he had procured.

The

A.C.

211.

Spart. in  
Severo, c. 8.

&amp; 24.

Id. ibid.  
cap. 18.Id. ibid.  
c. 24.Dion p.  
869. D.

The *People of Rome* had reason to love him, for he feasted them whilst he lived, and left Seven Year's provision of Corn behind him for their use when he died. He obliged the Inhabitants of *Tripolis* in *Africa* to furnish the City of *Rome* with a constant Allowance of Oyl, to be distributed amongst the Poor every day. His *Shew's* and *Congiary's* were more magnificent than any Emperors had ever been before him. The Public Buildings in *Rome* which were decay'd with Age, he repaired, and so he did in several other City's. When he heard Causes, as he often did, he was very patient, allowing both Par-ty's full Liberty to say what they could for themselves. In making Law's he took particular care to be exactly just, using the assistance of that great Oracle of the Civil Law, *Papinian*, whom for that reason he made *Captain of his Guards*. For it was then the custom, that most great Causes which fell immediately under the Emperor's cognizance, were try'd before the *Captain of his Guards*: Therefore *Papinian* was put into that Post; which that he might discharge the better, he took *Paulus* and *Ulpian*, whose Names are still famous in the Books

Books of the *Civil Law*, to be his Affessors. By these things Severus took off the Odium from himself in a great measure before he died. His Son *Caracalla* soon made his Loss to be heartily lamented; for what was to be expected from him was quickly seen, when the dread of his Father was once removed.

A. C.  
211.

## *An Account of the Reign of Caracalla.*

S. I. **A**SSOON as their Father's Body was burnt, and his Bones put into an Urn to be carried to Rome, *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, commonly called *Caracalla*, and *P. Septimius Geta* his Brother, with their Mother *Julia*, hastned thither as fast as they could. They agree'd so ill upon the Road, that they lay in different Lodgings, and never ate together. *Caracalla* once attempted to poyson his Brother, but his Servants were too faithful to be corrupted. Then he try'd the Fidelity of the Guards, and laboured

Herodian  
lib. 4 § 1.

A.C.

211.



boured to induce them to declare him Sole Emperor; but they told him they had sworn Allegiance jointly to him and *Geta*, and Both they were resolved equally to serve. When all would not do, he resolved to wait a more favorable opportunity: And thus with no small difficulty the Two Brothers got together to *Rome*.

§. 2. The first thing they did there, was to bury their Father: That was done with all possible Splendor, and the Senate voted the Consecration of *Him* after he was dead, whom they stood so much in fear of whilst he lived. After the Funeral, the Hatred between the Brothers broke out every day more than other. The Palace was divided, and each Emperor had his several Apartment, and Guards and Officers by himself. The Passages and Back-doors that led to both Apartments were all carefully made up; and both the Brothers stood in fear of their Lives of one another. It was once proposed that the Empire should be divided (as it afterwards was by *Diocletian*), and that *Caracalla* should keep the *West*, and live at *Rome*, and *Geta* have the *East*, and chuse *Antioch* or *Ale-*

Herodian  
lib. 4 § 3.

Id. ibid.  
§ 5.

# CARACALLA.

303

A.C.

211.



*Alexandria*, or what other City he pleased in his Division to reside in. This Project, which *Geta* agreed to, was broken by *Julia Domna* their Mother, who by being desirous of keeping both her Sons together, lost them both. She had omitted no Endeavours to reconcile them; and when *Caracalla* found that he must still wait for a fitter opportunity to effect his Designs, he was contented to appear outwardly at least reconciled to his Brother; and Medals were stamped accordingly with the Images of both the Brothers joining their Hands, and **HAPPY CONCORD** writ round their Images.

Dion p.  
871. A.  
Mediob. in  
Carac. ad  
ann. 211.  
Vaillant.  
Impp Numism.  
præf.  
Tom. 2.  
in Carac.

§. 3. Thus with much ado they lived a Year together. *Geta* being a more affable Man, was better beloved, and that enraged *Caracalla* the more against him. At last, in *February CCXII*, *Caracalla* persuaded their Mother *Julia* to send for them both to her Apartment, that they might there make up all their Breaches. This Snare *Geta* easily fell into, and obey'd his Mother's Summons. *Caracalla* had before got some Centurions to ly ready, who upon a Signal given should break into the Chamber. They obey'd his Orders, and

A.C.

212.



Dion p.  
871 D.

**A.C.** and killed *Geta* in his Mother's Arms,  
**212.** whither he had run for shelter. When  
 the Fact was done, *Caracalla* rush'd  
 out of the Palace, as if he had been  
 put in fear of his Life, and ran thro  
 the City to the Camp: Assoon as he  
 was got thither, he went immediately  
 to the Chappel, where the Guards kept  
 their Standards, and the Images of their  
 Gods, and threw himself upon the  
 ground to thank them for his Delive-  
 rance. After some time, when he was  
 willing to be thought to come to him-  
 self, he desired the Soldiers to protect  
 him; and with broken speeches, like  
 a Man recovering out of a Fright, gave  
 them to understand that he had at last  
 dispatched those his Enemy's that  
 fought his Life. Whilst they were mu-  
 sing upon the thing, he stop'd their  
 Mouths with mighty Promises, and  
 told them he desired onely to live and  
 die with them. He gave them like-  
 wise all that incredible Mass of Mo-  
 ney which *Severus* had been collecting  
 during his whole Reign.

**§. 4.** This extraordinary Donative  
 soon pacify'd the Soldiers; and to  
 please them the more, he stay'd all  
 night in the Camp. Next day, when  
 they


Herodian  
 lib. 4. §. 8.  
 Dion p.  
 872. B.



they were satisfied, he went guarded to the Senate, and acquainted them with his Brother's Death. They, for fear, consented to all that he proposed, and then to sweeten them he recalled all those from Exile, who had been banish'd before upon any Account. He took care also that his Brother should be buryed with great Solemnity, and at the Funeral, according to Custom, he was consecrated; and Medals are said to be still extant, in memory of that Consecration (s). For, (as it was sayd of him at that time) *he was well enough contented his Brother should be a God above, so he was not alive upon Earth.* But these Acts of seeming Pity and Remorse, which were very contrary to Caracalla's Natural Temper, were soon defaced by his Brutal Cruelty towards those that were in the least suspected of favouring his Brother. All his Servants, and his Guards, with their Wives and Children, to the number of 20,000, were without Mercy put to Death. Papinian whom he had before removed from his Captainship of the Guards, was then killed; and Fabius Cilo, after he had been dragged out of the Bath in his Under Garments

A.C.

212.

  
Dion p.  
872 C.D.  
Spart. in  
Carac. c 3.

Spart. in  
Geta. c. 2.

Herodian  
lib. 4. § 11.  
Dio ubi  
supra. D.E.

Spart. in  
Carac. c. 4.

A.C.

212.

Dio ubi  
supra.Dio Frag.  
Valef p.  
742.Spart. ubi  
supra.Herodian  
lib. 4. §. 9.Spart in  
Carac. c 3.Herodian  
lib. 4. §. 11.

and Slippers, had been also murther'd with the rest, if the City Company's, whom *Cilo* had formerly commanded as *Præfect of the City*, had not risen in his defence, which at that time saved his Life. And yet this *Cilo* had been one of *Caracalla's* best Friends in *Severus's* time, and had bred him up; for which reason *Caracalla* had formerly used to call him Father; and had expressed so great a Tendernefs for him, that he publicly said, whoever attempted any thing against *Cilo*, attempted it against himself. But all this then went for nothing, he was afraid of Men of Worth and Interest, and upon the slightest pretences daily cut them off. He killed *Helvius Pertinax*, because his Father had once been Emperor. He killed *Fadilla*, the onely surviving Daughter of *Marcus*, because she had taken the freedom to condole with the Empress upon the Account of *Geta's* death. He killed also *Pompeianus*, Grandson of *Marcus*, the Son of *Lucilla* and *Claudius Pompeianus*, who had formerly commanded Army's either under him or his Father (t) with great Applause; and a Cousin-German of his own, *Septimius Severus*, to whom  
but

but the day before he had sent a Dish from his own Table. Not to mention *Asper Julianus* and his Sons, who had born the highest Offices in the Empire, and two of them had been Consuls together in the Year CCXI, under this same *Caracalla*, who were ignominiously sent into their own Countrey; nor *Thraseas Priscus*, descended of a Family of Philosophers, whom he put to death. In short, there was scarce a day past, whilst he stayd at *Rome*, that was not polluted with the Blood of some considerable Person or other in that City. And to add to the Affliction of the Family's of those whom he thus destroy'd, he would not suffer the Body's of many of them to be buried.

A.C.

212.

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Dio. Frag.
Valef. p.
744.

Herodian
ubi supra.

Dio. Frag.
Valef. p.
749.

§. 5. But had the Cruelties of *Caracalla* been less, yet the Oppressions of his Subjects of all Ranks, would alone have made him intolerable. He cared not how much he robbed and ground the People, so he could but find Money to support his Expences, wherein he was beyond measure profuse. Besides the new Taxes which he imposed, he either raised the Customary Dues, or else exacted them oftener than they had formerly been demanded, which was

A.C.
212.
Fragg.edi-
ta per Va-
lesium p.
745.
Dion p.
565. E.

equally grievous. *Dion Cassius* gives some few Instances by which we may judge of the rest. It was a Custom when Testators bequeathed Estates or Legacy's by Will to Strangers or Collateral Relations, that a XXth part of what they left, was put into the Exchequer. This *Augustus* first instituted, who thought it no hardship to tax those a XXth part, who would not without such a Will have had any Legal Title to the other XIX. This XXth part *Caracalla* raised to a Xth; and because before onely *Roman* Citizens were affected by it, he made the whole *Roman* Empire universally free of the City of *Rome*, that all Men might be equally liable to pay this Tax. He was willing indeed that this enfranchizing of the Empire should be looked upon as an Act of Grace, as in some respects it certainly was; but yet the true Reason why he did it, was, that the Subjects of the Provinces might be harraßt by all those Impositions with which the Citizens of *Rome* were burthen'd, over and above all those which they payd before. The *Coronary Gold* which was alway's presented to the Emperors by all their Subjects upon a Victory, or
any

any other public occasion of Gratulation, was now exacted at every turn by *Caracalla*, as if he were alway's conquering, and still bringing home new matters of Triumph from his barbarous Enemy's. Freed Mens Estates when they were manumitted were likewise liable to this XXth Penny; and this *Caracalla* raised to a Xth, as he had done already the casual Legacy's. Both these extraordinary Impositions were afterwards taken away by *Macrinus*. Besides, he cut off several collateral Relations from their Right of succeeding to Intestate Mens Estates; by which many more Forfeitures fell to the Exchequer than would otherwise have done: And he layd also a Xth upon many Legacy's and Bequests which were freed from the XXth by the Constitutions of former Princes.

A.C.

212.



Dion p.
893. D. E.

Dio. Frag.
Valef. p.
745.

§. 6. Thus dealt *Caracalla* with the Body of the People. The Senators, considering their Quality, and the Indulgence of former Emperors were used far worse. As often as he went out of *Rome*, let his Journey's have been never so short, the Senators were obliged at their own Charge to erect upon the Road Noble Places of Enter-

Dio. p.
874. C. D.
collat. cum
Fragg. Va-
lef. p. 745

A.C.

212.



Id. Frag.
Valef. p.
746.

Id. lib 78.
p 875 D.

tainment for his Reception : And some of these Edifices thus purposely erected, he would not so much as vouchsafe to see. Wheresoever he proposed to spend a Winter, whether he went thither or not, *Amphitheatres* and *Cirques* were built at Senators Charges, onely to weary and waste them out ; for these Temporary Buildings were all pulled down agen, soon after they were set up. Thus *Caracalla* used the Senate. For if he had but Mony enough for his Soldiers, his Sports, and his Foreign Pensions, he cared for nothing else. He loved no body, and envied and hated all that had any real Excellency's in any kind ; and those too he hated most, and would be soonest sure to oppress whom he pretended most to love. He never took any Mans Advice in any thing, but would engross all to himself, Money, Knowledge, and Power ; and it was as dangerous to be thought to know more than the Prince, as it was to have a greater Interest, or to have more Money. And yet he had entirely forgot all that Learning which his Father made him get when he was a Child. He was very ingenious in crushing those whom he designed to oppress ;

press; for he did not always kill them outright, but would sometimes ruine them under a pretence of Advancement. If they were sickly and infirm, he would often send them to Governments where he knew the Climate would soon destroy them; and so with a shew of Confidence and Honor he killed with excessive Heats, or piercing Cold, those whom he had a mind to be rid of.

A.C.

212.

Id. Frag.
Valef. p.
746.

§. 7. After all this, it will easily be believed, that the People of *Rome* were soon weary of this Brutal Emperor. He grew too to be as weary of them; and in the Year CCXIII he began a Progress thro the several Provinces of his Empire. Coins struck that Year by order of the Senate for his HAPPY JOURNEY, determine the Time when he set forth (u). His first Progress was into *Gallia Narbonensis*, where for the time he stayd he did as much mischief as he could. He killed the Proconsul of the Province, and broke in upon the Privileges of several City's; and when he had gotten the hatred of the whole Province by his Tyrannical and Cruel Deportment, he returned back again to *Rome*, before his

A.C.

213.

Spartian
in Carac.
cap. 5.

A.C. Expedition into *Germany*, as several very learned Antiquaries are of opinion. 214. There in the Year CCXIV he distributed his last Congiary to the People, and gave every one of them a *Long * Gown* that reached to his Heels, of a different Fashion from what they were formerly used to; which sort of Liberality they were not a little pleased with. If this Congiary was given before *Caracalla's* Expedition into *Germany*, then it is certain that he went thither quickly afterwards, where he stayd for some considerable time. When he was there he study'd to do as much Mischief as he could, by fomenting the Disturbances that he found amongst the People of the Countrey, and by raising new ones where the People were at quiet. It is not certain by what Remains we have concerning this *German* Expedition in *Dion Cassius*, that there was any Insurrection against the *Romans* when *Caracalla* went into *Germany*. He found the *Alemanni* and *Catti* at War with another Nation whose Name we have lost. These then *Caracalla* pretended to assist; and they found him a worse Enemy to them than he was to their Adversary's. For when he was in their Coun-

* *Caratal-*
la.

Capitol. in
Macrino,
cap. 5.

Countrey, he built several Forts in convenient places, which would have bridled as well as defended them; and when he saw they took no notice of it, he fell upon them as a base cowardly People, that would bear any thing, and massacred a great number of their Youth whom he had got together on pretence of listing them into his Service. But this enraged the Adversary's of these poor People, as well it might. He that killed his Friends out of wantonness, what might not his Enemy's reasonably expect? The *Alemanni* therefore and *Catti* (or *Cenni*, as they are differently called) fought with great Rage against *Caracalla*. When some *Osrhoenians* whom he had in his Army, shot Darts against them, they plucked the Darts out of their Bodies with their Teeth, that their Hands might be more at liberty to oppose their Enemy's. Their Women whom he took Prisoners, chose rather all to dye, and some of them killed their Children too, than to live in Captivity under such an inhuman Prince. This Resolution that ran thro the whole People, made *Caracalla* soon glad to buy a Peace; and the *Alemans* were contented he should be

be

A.C.

214.



Dio. Frag.
Valef. p.
750.

Id. ibid.
p. 757.

be thought a Conqueror, so they were paid for it. But when this Weakness of his was once discovered, other *Germans* failed not to insult him, in hopes the same way to be bought off. The Inhabitants of the *Sea-Coast* at the Mouth of the *Elbe*, sent an Embassy to him to desire his Friendship, that is, in other words, to get some of his Money; and other Nations follow'd their Example; and *Caracalla* was willing to make Peace with all of them upon their own Terms. These Compositions weakened the Empire extremely, for all their Pensions were payd in Standard Money, at the same time that he embased the current Coin of the Empire, by bringing down the Silver and Gold considerably lower than the former value. But whilst *Caracalla* was forced thus to comply with the Demands of these Northerly *Germans*, he made himself terrible to those who lived upon the Southwest. For he put *Gaiobomarus* a King of the *Quadi* to Death, who was brought before him upon an Accusation, of which we know not the Particulars; and he valued himself upon his making the *Vandals* and *Marcomans* quarrel with one another.

§. 8. These were the Fruits of Caracalla's German Expedition; for which he assumed the Titles of *Germanicus* and *Alemannicus*. *Germanicus* appears upon some Coins struck in the XVIth Year of his *Tribunitial Power*, that ended in the beginning of the Year CCXIV. During this War, he made himself very Popular among his Soldiers, by suffering all the Hardships, and performing all the lowest Offices which were imposed upon the meanest in the Army. In these things he thought the Duty of a General did consist, whilst he neglected to use that Conduct, and to observe that Discipline, which were the properest and most necessary parts of his Office. He would eat indeed, and drink, and march and labor with any of his Men: If a Trench was to be dug, he would be the first with a Spade in his Hand to help to dig it: If a Bridg was to be made, he would still be foremost to help to make it: He would grind his own Corn, make his own Cakes, and bake them himself upon the Coals: For he valued himself upon his being able to live with bare Necessary's; and tho he took a pleasure in obliging the Senators to procure

A.C.

214.

Spart. in
Carac.
cap. 10.

Dion p.
876. C.
Herodian
lib 4 §. 12.

A.C.

214.

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Dio. Frag.
Valef. p.
754.

Herodian
lib.4. §. 12.

Herodian
ubi supra.

cure him at their own Charge, all the Rarities of the Land, the Sea, and the Air, yet he would alway's eat the meanest things that could be drest: The rest he distributed amongst his own Creatures, never or very rarely suffering his *Friends* (*w*) to eat with him, as the Practice was of other Emperors. In his Marches he generally went a-foot, carrying his own Arms, seldom getting on Horseback or into a Chariot. Sometimes he would carry the Military Standards himself, which were very long and very heavy, so that it required the strongest Men in the Army to carry them far. These Methods, with his profuse Liberality's, brought all the Soldiery to be entirely at his Devotion; tho in some things he disgusted them too, as well as the rest of his Empire.

§. 9. For when he was in *Germany*, to shew that all that Nation were not his Enemy's, he would be guarded by *Germans*, and would often wear their Habit. The next Province where he stay'd any considerable time was *Macedonia*, and there nothing would serve him, but he must imitate *Alexander the Great* in every thing he did. Then
he

he would have a Body of 16000 *Macedonians* about him, whom he called his *Phalanx*, in imitation of that ancient Body of *Macedonian* Foot so called. But his Soldiers easily bore with these things, since they saw all the Wealth of the Empire raked with the utmost violence together, to gratify their Lusts. When he had stayd as long as he desired in *Macedonia*, he crossd the *Hellespont* (in which Passage he had like to have been drowned) into the Lesser *Asia*, where he sacrificed to *Aesculapius* at *Pergamos*, for the recovery of his Health (x). For now he began to be afflicted with several strange sorts of Diseases, some outwardly discernible, others not. His Distempers began in *Germany*, which made some people think that the *Alemans* had turned his Brain with their Charms and Incantations: And it is probable these *Alemans* might make use of several Inchantments for that purpose, tho what effect they had is uncertain. It is more likely that *Caracalla's* Crimes made him horribly uneasy, and that the disturbance which they gave him at last affected his Head: For he was frequently affrighted with dreadful Visions, and he often fancy'd that he saw his

A.C.

215.

Id. ibid.

§. 13.

Dio. p.

873. D.

Dio. Frag.

Vales. p.

754.

Herodian

lib 4 § 14.

Dio in

Frag. Vales.

p. 752,

753.

A.C.

216.



Idem ibid.
S. 15.

Dio. Frag.
Valef. p.
757.

Herodian
lib. 4. § 17.

posed to have been Men of a Gigantic Stature: And these things had been all told to *Caracalla*, so that he was resolved to be revenged: But he kept this Resolution to himself. He sent the *Alexandrians* word, that for their Founder *Alexander's* sake he intended to make them a Visit; and having a particular Veneration for *Sarapis* their Tutelary God, he was resolved to come in Person and worship him in his own Temple. These specious pretences deceived that unhappy People, who met him with all possible signs of Joy, and payd him as much Honor as they were capable of shewing him. *Caracalla* seem'd extreamly pleased with what they had done, and went to the Temple of *Sarapis*, where his Sacrifices were very magnificent, and from thence to *Alexander's* Tomb, at which he made most Noble Offerings; and that Sword amongst the rest, with which the Centurion killed his Brother *Geta*. Then he told the *Alexandrians*, that he intended to have a *Phalanx* composed of the choicest of their Youth, which should be called after their Founder *Alexander's* Name, in imitation of that *Macedonian* one which he had already.


The

The *Alexandrians* charmed with their Emperor's Kindness, which they question'd not to be very sincere, raised their *Phalanx* immediately, and a day was appointed when they were to muster before the Emperor in a Plain just without the City. This was so extraordinary a thing, that a great multitude came out of the City to see the Shew, especially the Relations of those who were to have the Honour of guarding their Prince. *Caracalla* was there in Person to see them, and went round them as they stood in Order, viewing them one by one, and examining whether they would be fit for his Service. In the mean time he order'd his own Soldiers to inclose them, with the rest of the People that were got together to see the Shew. When they were quite hemmed in, he withdrew with his own Guards, and then gave a Signal to the Army to fall on. The Soldiers immediately fell upon these poor *Alexandrians*, and without distinction massacred them all, as they could come at them. In the confusion which such a Slaughter occasioned, a great many of *Caracalla's* Men were killed with the rest; especially after they began to dig Pits

A.C.

216.



A.C. 216.  to bury those they thus destroyed; for then the wounded and half-dead *Alexandrians* drew in as many as they could of the Soldiers along with them, and so they perished miserably together. The Slaughter was so great, that *Caracalla* himself was ashamed to send a particular Account of it to *Rome*; only he said that all the *Alexandrians* were alike guilty, those that escaped and those that perished. This Butchery continued for several day's, all which time *Caracalla* stayd in the Temple of *Sarapis*, giving Orders how he would have his Will executed. At last, when he had taken away all their Privileges, and plunder'd the Inhabitants, and driven out all that sojourned in the Town upon any Account whatsoever, excepting Merchants, he returned to *Antioch*.

Dion p. 879. E.

Id p. 880.

Herodian lib. 4. § 17. *extremo.*

§. 11. His next design was to pick a Quarrel with the *Parthians*. He longed for the Title of *Parthicus*, and to have the Glory of subduing the *East*. Some time before he demanded of *Vologaesius* King of *Parthia* to deliver him up some Deserters that had fled to him from *Caracalla*: The *Parthian* restored them presently, being not willing upon

Id. ibid. §. 18.

Dion p. 878. C.

p. 879 A.

on

on their Account to break with the *Roman* Emperor. For he had dealt basely before with the Kings of *Armenia* and *Osrhoene*, inviting them to come to him, and then detaining them as Prisoners, and seizing upon their Kingdoms. *Osrhoene* being but a small Territory, was soon master'd; but the *Armenians* defended their Countrey bravely in the Absence of their King, and overthrew *Caracalla's* General, one *Theocritus*, whom he sent against them; who from being a Slave at first to *Saoterus*, one of the Favorites of *Commodus*, had risen by degrees to be an infamous Instrument of the Cruelty and Oppression of *Caracalla*. This faithless usage of his Neighbours, had put *Artabanus*, who was now King of *Parthia* in the Room of *Vologaesius*, upon his Guard; and he desired to have as little to do with *Caracalla* as he could. And besides, *Artabanus* had reasons of his own to be highly dissatisfied with *Caracalla*: For after his Father *Vologaesius's* Death, he and his Brother having some disputes about the Succession, *Caracalla* was very industrious in fomenting their differences, and was mightily pleased with what he did; thereby shewing that he

A. C.

216.

Id. p. 875.
D E.

Id. Frag.
Val. p. 757.
Id. p. 879.
B.

Dio. Frag.
Valef. p.
746.

A.C.

216.



Dion p.

881. A.

loved to see Brothers at variance, and rejoiced when he could have a Hand in any thing that promoted Bloodshed. The *Roman* Emperor however soon found a pretence of making a War upon *Artabanus* : He sent to him to desire his Daughter in Marriage ; he told him such an Alliance would unite their Monarchies for ever ; and he set forth the Advantages of that Union with all the Eloquence that he was Master of ; and his Ambassadors carry'd magnificent Presents, still the more to induce the *Parthian* to accept of their Master's Proposition. *Artabanus*, who had try'd his perfidious Temper, and who supposed that *Caracalla* wanted onely a pretence to fix a Claim to the *Parthian* Empire, refused the Match ; whereupon *Caracalla* went with a considerable Army into *Parthia*, wasting and destroying all that came in his way. At *Arbela* he threw down the Monuments of the *Parthian* Kings, and scatter'd their Bones upon the Ground. All this while he met with no Enemy ; for the *Parthians* not expecting a War, lay quiet till the *Romans* were just upon them, and then they fled up into the Countrey as fast

as

as they could (y). When *Caracalla* had done what he designed, he returned to *Edessa*, pleased with his Victory, for which the Senate gave him the Title of *Parthicus* (z); and there he spent the remaining part of the Winter CCXVI.

A.C.

216.

Herodian
lib.4. § 21.

§. 12. The next Spring the *Parthians* made great Preparations to fall upon *Caracalla*. They knew his Men were grown very disorderly, by reason of the extravagant Liberty's that he allow'd them, and that the old *Roman* Discipline was wholly lost; so that they did not doubt but they should be sufficiently able to revenge themselves. And it is very probable they might have been, if an unforeseen Conspiracy had not by cutting off *Caracalla* in an unexpected manner, taken him away from their Vengeance. He had entrusted the Command of his Guards to two Men, *Opelius Macrinus*, and *Adventus*. *Adventus* had the Reputation of a Soldier, but was wholly unacquainted with Civil Affairs, and so very ignorant that he could not so much as read. *Macrinus* on the contrary understood the Law tolerably well, and executed the Juridical part of his Power much

A.C.

217.

Herodian
lib.4. §. 22.

A.C.

217.



Herodian
ubi supra.

Dion p.
882. A.

to the satisfaction of the Empire, but was not looked upon to be a Soldier; for which Reason he was often ridiculed by *Caracalla*, who having been used to great Hardships in his way of Life, fancy'd himself to be a compleat General, and loved to jest upon *Macrinus* as a Man unfit for his Office. These things made *Macrinus* think his Interest began to decline; and knowing the Temper of his Master, they made him exceedingly uneasy. About that time also an *African* Fortune-teller spread a Report, that *Macrinus* and his Son *Diadumenus* should one day be Emperors. The New's of this being carried to *Rome*, *Flavius Maternianus*, *Præfect of the City*, sent immediately an Account of it into the *East* to *Caracalla*. The Letters which *Maternianus* sent, were carried to *Julia Domna* the Empress, who lay at *Antioch*, and had a Commission from the Emperor to open all Expresses that were not of extraordinary Concern, and to give Answers to them accordingly. This *Ulpianus*, a Senator then at *Rome*, a great Friend of *Macrinus's*, knew; who thereupon sent a Messenger directly to *Macrinus*, to give him an Account of the Letters which *Maternianus* had sent already ready.

ready to the Empress. The Intelligence which *Macrinus* thus received from *Ulpianus*, set him upon his Guard, and prepared him for the worst. Soon after, the Letters came from *Antioch*, which were sent at first by *Maternianus*. *Caracalla* was then at *Edessa*, and received the Pacquet just as he was going into a Chariot to drive a Match in the *Circus* in that City. Being then busy, he commanded *Macrinus* (as he used to do formerly) to read his Letters, and tell him if there was any thing material in them; otherwise *Macrinus* was to give what Orders might be requisite. Upon the opening of the Pacquet he saw his Doom, and found he had no Time to loiter. He therefore immediately communicated his Intentions to two Brothers, *Tribunes of the Guards*, *Aurelius Nemesianus*, and *Aurelius Apollinaris*, and to one *Julius Martialis*, a disobliged Centurion (a), whose Brother *Caracalla* had killed not long before, upon an Accusation of which he was convicted. *Martialis*, willing to gratify *Macrinus* at the same time that he pursued his own Revenge, promised to kill *Caracalla* upon the first opportunity. It was not long before

A.C.

217.



Herodian
lib. 4 § 23.

Dion p.
890. E. &
Spart. in
Carac. c. 6.

A. C. he had one; for whilst *Caracalla* was
 217. going to *Carrae* from *Edessa*, to sacri-
 Spair. ubi
 fupra. fice to the *Moon*, which was particular-
 ly worshipt in that City, upon the
 viiith of *April*, CCXVII, he withdrew
 from the Company to ease Nature;
 and when the rest of his Retinue stood
 at a distance out of decency, *Martialis*
 who was alway's upon the watch,
 came suddainly up to him as if he had
 been called, and stabbed him just upon
 the Collar-bone, so that the Wound
 went into his Throat, whereupon he
 died immediately.

Herodian
 lib 4. § 24.
 extremo.

Dion p.
 890 E. &
 p. 891. A.

§. 13. This was the End of *M. Au-*
relius Antoninus Caracalla, in the XXth
 Year of his Reign, if we reckon from
 the Time when his Father first invested
 him with the *Tribunitial Power*, and
 gave him the Title of *Augustus*. He sur-
 vived his Father VI Year's, II Months,
 and odd Day's, leaving a disturb'd Go-
 vernment to the next that would take
 it up. His Murtherer *Martialis* was
 soon killed. It is thought he might
 have escaped, if he had thrown away
 his Sword; but that discovering him,
 he was killed by one of the *Germans*
 who waited then upon the Emperor as
 his Guards. It was observed also, that
 few

few of those that had any Hand in this Conspiracy escaped; the Providence of God teaching Men thereby, as well as by innumerable other Instances, That how wicked soever Princes may have been, yet when once their Subjects dip their Hands in their Sovereign's Blood, they shall not even in this World go unpunished.

A.C.

217.



§.14 For surely if ever Prince might lawfully have been assassinated, *Caracalla* might; who was as great an Instance of Oppression and Perfidiousness, mixt with Cruelty, as can be shewn in History. He never seems to have had any regard for his Subjects, and shew'd nothing like Love and Compassion towards any body besides his own Soldiers: To whom he was so extravagantly profuse, that *Macrinus* complain'd after his Death, that besides their ordinary Pay, he gave away amongst them above Two Millions of our Money (*b*) every Year. *Severus* had encreased the Guards to 40,000; and besides, had raised their Pay, and granted them several Privileges which they had not before. All these they lookt upon as their Right under *Caracalla*; so that when he gave them

Herodian
lib.3 §.44.

A.C. 217. *Severus* had given them already, (for so we are to understand the words of *Macrinus*) we may well think what a Burthen that must needs have been to the Empire. His Mother *Julia*, who was a very wise Woman, reproved him once for this his Prodigality ; but he laying his Hand upon his Sword, reply'd, *As long as I have this , we shall never want Money.* In a word, he follow'd *Severus's* Advice exactly, which he gave him upon his Death-Bed, which was, *To enrich his Soldiers , and not to regard any body else :* Or , as I rather think, he gave that out as the reason of his Conduct after his Father was dead, and could not contradict him. But this Indulgence of *Severus* and his Son *Caracalla* towards the Soldiers, as it was the Ruin of the Empire for that whole Age till *Diocletian's* time, so it was the destruction of *Severus's* own Family at last. And the onely good Prince of that Line, *Severus Alexander*, found his Army too strong for him, while he was labouring to reform them.

Dion p.
875. B.

Id. p. 868.
E.

Of the Election of Macrinus, and his Death.

S.I. **I**T will easily be imagined, that *Caracalla's* Death occasioned a mighty Uproar in the Army. The Body of the Soldiers loved a Prince that had been so kind to them. His way of living, more like a private Soldier than a General of an Army, was very obliging: This made them lament the Loss of a Fellow-Soldier and Companion, as well as of a Prince. *Macrinus* too came and lamented over the Body so artificially, that he was not then suspected to have had any Hand in his Master's Death. For two day's the Army was at a stand, being uncertain whom to chuse. They offered the Empire first to *Adventus* the Senior Captain of the Guards. *Adventus* was very old, and every way unfit for so great a Charge. This made him excuse himself; and then it was offer'd to *Macrinus* the Fourth day after *Caracalla's* death,

Herodian
lib.4. §. 25.

Id. ibid.
§ 27.

A.C. death, which happen'd to be the Birth-
 217. day of *Severus*, and he gladly accept-
 ed it.

S. 2. *Opelius Macrinus* was born of
 Dion p. very mean Parentage at *Cæsarea*, the
 884. E. & Metropolis of *Mauritania Cæsariensis*,
 p. 892. E. now part of the Territory of *Algiers*.
 By slow degree's he had risen under
 former Emperors, till he came at last
 to be one of the Captains of the
 Id. p. 893. Guards. He was originally bred to
 A. the Law; and was employ'd by *Plan-
 tianus* when he was in his Greatness, to
 manage his Estate. That was his first
 Rise, and had like to have been his
 Ruine when his Master fell, if *Fabius
 Cilo* had not beg'd his Life. After that,
Severus made him *Master of the Posts*
 upon the *Flaminian Way*; and under
Caracalla he rose first to be *Advocate of
 the Treasury*, and then one of the *Cap-
 tains of his Guards*. This last Office,
 the greatest that any Subject of the
 Empire was capable of, he managed
 with great Integrity and Uprightness.
 Dio. ibid. His Decisions were alway's right when
 he heard Causes himself; and tho he
 was not greatly skilled in the Law's,
 yet he covered that defect, by his Mo-
 deration and Care to distribute Justice
 im-



impartially to every Man. By these means he became exceedingly popular in the Empire ; tho the Soldiers, who were afraid of those Regulations which they foresaw he would make, or at least attempt, chose him upon *Caracalla's* death, rather because they knew not whom else to pitch upon, than that they had any Personal Kindness for the Man. For the *Parthian* was just then ready to break in upon *Mesopotamia*, to revenge himself upon the Perfidiousness of *Caracalla*, who against all Faith and Justice had not long before made an Inroad into his Country. So that the Army was obliged to chuse an Emperor immediately ; and when *Adventus* declined it, tho as *Senior Præfect* he said it was his Right, *Macrinus* was the onely Man they could possibly take. And besides, his Fellow-Conspirators had from the time of *Caracalla's* death been making an Interest for him in the Army. It is probable therefore that *Adventus* found he could not have been safe, if he had accepted of the Empire, which made him refuse it.

Herodian
lib. 4 §. 27.

Dio. p.
894. E.

§. 3. Soon after *Macrinus* was declared Emperor, he ordered *Caracalla's* Body

Herodian
lib. 4 §. 26.

A.C.

217.



Dio. 885.
& 886.
collat. cum
pag. 899.

Body to be burnt, and the Ashes put into an Urn, and carried to *Antioch* to his Mother *Julia*. When she heard that her Son was dead, she was excessively troubled: For tho perhaps she might not much love him, who did not indeed much deserve her Love, yet she loved Empire and Power. She had hitherto kept the Title of *Augusta*, and a great part of the Business of the Government past thro her Hands. This she must expect now to lose, and she could not tell how to brook so great a Fall: It is plain this was her greatest Concern; for when she understood that *Macrinus* was contented to let her have her Guards, and to keep the Rank and Title of *Augusta* still, she cast away all Thoughts of dying, and was willing to live. But afterwards, when *Macrinus* was informed of what she had said against him, and finding that she began to cabal with the Soldiers, had order'd her to withdraw from *Antioch* in all haste, she resolved to live no longer, but beat her Breasts, in one of which she had a Cancer before, and refused to take any sort of Sustenance. Those Blow's soon increased her Distemper, and she dy'd in a few day's after; leaving



ving behind her as remarkable an Example of the Vicissitude of Fortune, as perhaps can any where be met with. For from a private Woman, of no great Family, and not of *Roman* Extraction, by being married to *Severus* she came to be Empress of *Rome*; in which Condition, as long as *Plautianus* lived, she enjoy'd but little comfort. After his Death, she saw both her Sons Emperors, with the cruel Allay of seeing them quarrel at the same time, in such a manner as quickly ended in the destruction of one, and which was in all probability the ruine of the other too, not many Years after. For her Favorite Child was murther'd in her Arms, by his Eldest Brother's Order, and her self was wounded whilst she in vain strove to save his Life. And after that, when she was forced to dissemble her Grief for the Loss of one Son, for fear of displeasing the other, she saw the Survivor first become thro his Villanies the Horror and Detestation of all Mankind, and then basely killed by the Conspiracy of those whom he had raised; and her self reduced to the necessity of starving, for fear of farther Mischiefs. (c)

A.C.

217.

Herodian
lib. 5. §. 2.
Capit. in
Macrino
cap. 7.

§. 4. But whatsoever Concern *Julia* had for her Son's Death, the City of *Rome*, especially the Senators and People of Quality had none. They now thought that the Sword which so long had been hanging over their Heads, was removed. When the Senate first received the Letters which gave an Account that *Caracalla* was dead, and *Macrinus* proclaimed in his place, they could not tell what Credit to give to the Report, and so said little: It might for ought they knew be a Trick of *Caracalla's* to see how they stood affected; and this made them keep themselves upon the Reserve. But when once they found the Report was true, it is incredible what Joy they shewed that that Tyrant (as now they dared to call him) was removed out of the way. They scrupled not to confirm the Election of *Macrinus*; and never enquired whom they served, so long as they were but rid of *Caracalla*. Besides, at first *Macrinus* endeavoured to undo all that *Caracalla* had done amiss. Those Informers that could be convicted, and onely those, were punished; particularly one *L. Priscillianus*, a Gladiator and an Informer both, whom for both those

those Quality's *Caracalla* had advanced to the Government of *Achaia*, was sent for by the Senate, and condemned to Banishment. The Servants that had accused their Masters were crucified; and in short, the fear of Punishment had so far daunted those that had been most active in *Caracalla's* time, that the City seemed to be perfectly free all the while *Macrinus* reigned. His business was to make *Caracalla* odious, and therefore he endeavoured to expose him as much as he durst. There was found in *Caracalla's* Cabinet after his death an incredible quantity of several sorts of Poysons, which had cost him 7500,000 *Denares*, which comes to 234,375 *l.* of our Money (*d*). These Poysons *Macrinus* caused to be burnt in the face of all the Army. Nothing did him more service, or tended more to alienate the Minds of the Army from their dead Emperor, than the discovery of this Secret; because no Man could tell whether he should have been secure, under a Prince who was at so vast an Expence to be able privately to destroy all that stood in his way. Yet notwithstanding all this, *Macrinus* found it necessary to use much Reservedness

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Dion p.
898. A. D.
Herodian
ubi supra.

Dion p.
891. C.

A. C.

217.



Dion p.

895. E.

Id. p. 856.

A.

in his Behaviour towards the Memory of *Caracalla*; and therefore in his Letter to the Senate, he spake neither against him nor for him; but only took notice of his Treachery towards the *Parthians*, which had involved the Empire in a dangerous War; and of the Poverty of the Public, which was occasioned by the profuse Pensions that he payd to the barbarous Nations that were upon the Borders of the Empire, which equalled his regular Expences in keeping up his Army. More he durst not then say, because of the Soldiers, who still preserved so great a Love for *Caracalla*, that they compelled *Macrinus* to get him consecrated. And we find that the Senate did consecrate him, and payd Divine Honours to him in public, whilst in private they curst his Memory (e).

S. 5. But now, whilst the Senate were thus employ'd in consecrating and cursing *Caracalla* at the same time, *Antarbanus* the *Parthian* was come upon the Frontiers with a mighty Army. He had already past the *Euphrates*, and he threatned to be revenged upon the *Romans* for all the Injury's he had received under *Caracalla*. *Macrinus*, whose great-
est

Dion. p.
886, 887.

lest Failing was want of Courage, did not care to meet him, and so sent back all the Prisoners of his own accord, desiring *Artabanus's* Friendship, and laying all the Fault upon *Caracalla*. The *Parthian* King, who knew the *Roman* Soldiers had lived too effeminately to fight well, and who despised *Macrinus* as a Man whom Necessity only and not Merit had made Emperor of *Rome*, stood now upon much higher Terms: He required a Sum of Money for all the damage which the *Romans* had done to his Forts and Cities, and particularly to the Monuments of his Ancestors which *Caracalla* had thrown down; and also that they should quit *Mesopotamia* entirely to the *Parthians*. Upon less Conditions he would make no Peace. Hereupon he came forwards as far as *Nisibis*, where the *Romans* were beaten in several Engagements (f), and *Macrinus* was glad to buy a Peace, by distributing among the *Parthians* a Sum exceeding a Million and a half of our Money (g). The Senate however flatter'd *Macrinus* upon this Success; and Sacrifices were decree'd to thank the Gods for his PARTHIAN VICTORY, which still appear's

A.C. 217. upon his Coins. They offer'd him also the Title of *Parthicus*; which he wisely refused, knowing that it would have been a Satyr upon himself every time he made use of it.

Dio p.
887. B.
collat. cum
p. 875. E.

Id. p. 879.
B.

§. 6. He had better Success afterwards against the *Armenians*, than he had before against the *Parthians*. *Caracalla* had provoked them to the highest degree, by detaining the Mother of their King Prisoner, who had been then about Eleven Months in Captivity. With her at first was her Husband, and two of her Sons: Her Husband seem's to have died in Prison, because we hear no more of him; and *Tiridates*, one of her Sons, made his escape. They had been basely decoy'd into Captivity by *Caracalla*, who try'd to seize upon their Countrey, but mist of his design. This usage of his had enraged the *Armenians*, and with Reason; however, when *Caracalla* was dead, *Tiridates* was contented to accept of the Crown of *Armenia* from *Macrinus*, thereby owning himself to be a sort of a Feudatary to the *Romans*, as his Ancestors had been formerly, and desired onely that his Pension might be continued, which had before been accustomed to be payd.

§. 7.



S. 7. *Macrinus*, now free'd from Foreign Wars, apply'd himself to the Government of his Empire at home. He had a Son (*b*) *M. Opelius Diadumenianus*, whom he designed for his Successor. He was a Boy of Ten Year's of Age, very handsom, and much taller than is usual for Children of those Years to be. This Son he sent for from *Antioch* to the Camp, soon after he was elected Emperor, and at the desire of the Soldiers caused him to be proclaimed *Caesar*. It seemed all to be done at the instance of the Soldiers, but it was in truth contrived by himself, that he might have a pretence of giving the Army another Donative. He had given them one very handsom Donative already, upon his being first chosen: It came to 750 *Denares* a Man, which is above 23 *l.* of our Money. Such another Donative he wanted to give them again; and young *Diadumenianus's* being declared *Caesar*, was a plausible pretence. The Senate willingly confirmed the Soldiers Choice, and he was immediately graced with the Title of PRINCEPS JUVENTUTIS; to the future HOPE of which young Prince, we find several Medals stamp-

Dion p.
897. A.

Occo. Me-
diobarb.
Vaillant.

4. C.

217,



ed, which are still preserved in the Cabinets of Antiquaries. Upon his assuming the Title of *Cæsar*, *Macrinus* gave him the Name of *Antoninus* to please the Soldiers, who were passionately fond of that Name, for *Caracalla's* sake.

Herodian
lib. 5. § 2.

§. 8. When *Macrinus* had thus, as he thought, secured the Empire to himself and his Family, instead of going to *Rome*, where the People earnestly desired his Presence, he gave himself up to his Pleasures at *Antioch*. In his Behavior he affected to be thought like the Emperor *Marcus*, speaking with a low Voice upon all occasions, and returning Answers to every thing with great slowness and gravity. But he was like *Marcus* in nothing else; for he spent his time in Music and Dancing, and the Pleasures of the Stage, and grew very negligent of all public Business. His Habit also was complained of as too luxurious, and more suitable to the Looseness of the *Eastern* Princes, than the Majesty of a *Roman* Emperor. This, to those that remembered his Extraction, was very odious; especially when he discountenanced and turned out of their Offices several Persons, who



who (as he suspected) were scandalized at the Meanness of his Birth, and at the manner of his obtaining the Empire; and when he shew'd an unbecoming Haughtiness to every Body else. Whereas it was his Interest to have affected Popularity and Affability to all Mankind, and so to have laboured to make them forget his first Original. He was mightily wanting also to himself in the choice of his Officers, most of those whom he preferred, being Men of no desert, nor any way's qualified for those Trusts in which he put them. *Adventus*, his Brother-*Præfect*, was so ignorant that he could not read; and being blind thro Age, was fit for no sort of Business, and yet *Macrinus* made him *Præfect of the City*, and Colleague with himself in the Consulat. This Promotion seemed very strange to the Senate, who expected no extraordinary things during his Reign, after he had declared his Son *Diadumenianus*, a Boy of Ten Years old, *Cæsar*, and had killed one *Aurelian* for pulling down some Statue's of *Caracalla's*, which were set up for him by the Name of *Alexander the Great*. It was no wonder that they dreaded the Government of Young Men,

Dion p.
894. D.

A.C.

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Dio. p.
897. A.

A.C.
218.



Dia. p.
894. B.

Id. p. 898.
F

when they had lately smarted so much under *Commodus* and *Caracalla*; especially since *Macrinus*, now LIII Years old, was not likely to live many Years amongst them. *Adventus* was not the onely Man whom *Macrinus* thus unworthily preferred. He removed *Sabinus* and *Castinus*, the Governors of *Dacia* and *Pannonia*, Men of Prudence and Courage, because of their Fidelity to *Caracalla*, and sent one *Marcus Agrippa* into *Dacia*, who from a Slave had by infamous Services to *Caracalla* been advanced to the Dignity of a *Prætor*; and one *Triccius* into *Pannonia*, who from a Porter to the Governor of that very Province, came to be Tribune of a Legion in the late Reign. One Man he sent into *Asia*, which was one of the most considerable Governments in the Empire, tho *Severus* had formerly put him by for his Insufficiency. This was the more remarkable, because *Severus* was particularly careful in the Choice of his Magistrates: He preferred indeed none but his Friends, but then withal he expected that they should be fully qualified to discharge the Trusts that he reposed in them.

§. 9. By these means *Macrinus* lost ground in his Reputation amongst Wise Men. The Populace, who were newly free'd from a brutal Tyrant, did not so soon spy out these Faults, and he lived not long enough to undeceive them. The Stories of his Cruelty which are related by *Capitolinus*, are in all probability false, because they are not so much as hinted at by *Herodian* or *Dion Cassius*, who lived in and about that time, and speak of him and his Failings with great impartiality; nay rather, on the contrary, they commend his Lenity and Moderation upon all occasions. *Elagabalus* after *Macrinus's* death, employ'd Writers to blacken him and his Son; and from them *Capitolinus* seems to have taken his Account (*i*). One thing particularly *Dion* mentions, which is inconsistent with the Cruelty that *Macrinus* is taxed with by the *Latin* Historians, which is this, That whereas *Caracalla* had Spy's of all Quality's and Sexes, who gave him an Account of the most secret Actions of every Man of whom he was afraid; and that after he was dead, the Senate had beg'd of *Macrinus* to send them all the Informations that he could find

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Dio. p.
895. B.

A.C.

218.



Dio. p.

897. E.

Id. ibid.

D.

find in *Caracalla's* Cabinet, that the Informers might be punished; this Petition *Macrinus* would not listen to; Least, said he, we should seem to do the same things for which we have accused other Men. And pursuant to this Resolution, he punished as few as possibly he could, for what they had done under *Caracalla*; pretending that *Caracalla* either tore the Informations which he received, when they were no longer useful, or else returned them back again to those that gave them: It being a fixt Principle with *Macrinus*, to punish no man unless he were legally convicted. So that Cruelty was certainly not the Cause of *Macrinus's* Ruine, which sprung from a far different Original.

§. 10. It was Necessity, as we have seen already, rather than Choicc, that first raised *Macrinus* to the Empire. The Soldiers still retained a Kindness for *Caracalla*, and that made them look with a very evil Eye, upon the Man that murdered their beloved Emperor. He had met with ill Success against *Arabanus*, and that disgusted the whole Army, who were willing to lay all their Misfortunes at his door. Besides, Courage was a Quality he did not much pre-

pretend to, and his Army soon discovered how much he wanted it. It is probable that he had been severe in his Executions upon those Soldiers that had been failing in their Duty, and then it will easily be imagined, that Story's might be spread abroad of his Severity, beyond the Truth. They were angry also that they were quarter'd in Tents in the Countrey, where they wanted Necessary's, whilst he lay at his ease at *Antioch*. And yet it is a question whether all these things would have hurt him, if by a fatal oversight he had not kept all his Legions together in *Syria*, in the Winter CCXVII, when the *Parthian* War was over, instead of sending them to their respective Quarters, which was what they themselves exceedingly desired. Of these Legions some were new raised, and some were old. The old Legions enjoy'd several very extravagant Privileges by the Favor of *Caracalla*, which *Macrinus* did not think it advisable for him to retrench; and herein he certainly acted like a Wise Man, that being too tender a point for a Prince to meddle with, who was advanced a few Months before by those very Legions.

But

A. G.

218.

Herodian
lib. 5 § 3.

Dio. p.
900. B.
901.


A.C. But when he raised his *New Legions*, he
218. set them upon the Establishment made
 by *Severus*; which tho milder and more
 advantageous than the former ones,
 yet was much stricter than that of *Caracalla*. These *New Legions* wintring
 promiscuously among the *Old* ones,
 thought themselves hardly used, that
 they were made in any thing their infe-
 riors; and the *Old Legions* were appre-
 hensive that *Macrinus* might make Al-
 terations in their Establishment too,
 when he was thoroughly settled in the
 Empire. Discontent therefore arising
 from different Causes, animated the
 whole Army, and made them ready
 upon the first opportunity to declare
 against *Macrinus*.

§. 11. And it was not long before
 they had one. *Julia Maesa*, Sister to
 the late Empress *Julia Domna*, had re-
 tired by Order from *Macrinus*, upon
 her Nephew's Death, to *Emesa* a City
 of *Phoenicia*, with all her Family, and
 a vast Estate that she had got by living
 at Court during the Reigns of *Severus*
 and *Caracalla*. Her Family consisted of
 two Daughters, *Julia Soaemias*, and
Julia Mamaea, who were both Wi-
 dow's, as well as her self; and their
 Sons,

Sons, *Varius Avitus Bassianus*, and *Alexianus*. *Emesa* was a City famous for worshipping the *Sun* in the shape of a *Black Conical Stone*, which as they pretended, came down from Heaven. This *Stone-Idol* they called *Elagabal*, or the *Forming God*. *Bassianus* the Father of *Maesa* had been Priest to this Mock-Deity heretofore; in remembrance of which, she now put her Grandson *Varius* into that Office. She lived there very retiredly as long as *Macrinus* kept his Interest, resolving not to stir, till a favourable Conjunction might give Life to her Hopes. When the *Parthian* War was over, the Emperor quarter'd his Army part in *Syria*; and part in *Phoenicia*. Some that quarter'd in *Phoenicia* lay in Tents just without the City of *Emesa*, whither they went in and out at pleasure. This Neighbourhood soon set *Maesa's* Head a working, who having lived above XX Years in a Court, could not bring her self agen to relish a private Life. *Varius Avitus* was then a Boy about 14 Year's old, extreamly handsome, and well proportion'd: Him she took care frequently to shew to the Soldiers, as they came to worship in the Temple of the

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 Herodian
 lib. 5 § 5.

 Aur. Vi-
 tor in E-
 pitoma.

 Herodian
 lib 5. § 6.

A.C. 218. the Son; and that they might take the more notice of him, he was alway's dress'd very richly, and to the best advantage. Nay, *Maesa* scrupled not to prostitute her Daughter's Honour, by reporting that he was the real Son of *Caracalla*, to induce the Soldiers to love him the better. They were fed with Promises also of extraordinary Donatives, besides an ample Confirmation of all those Privileges which were granted them by *Caracalla*, if they would restore this Youth to what they were told was his Inheritance. For *Maesa* was very rich, and had carry'd all her Wealth along with her. These things soon won upon the Soldiers, who hated *Macrinus*, and loved the Memory of *Caracalla*. It was agreed therefore betwixt them, that *Maesa*, with her Daughters and Grandsons, should steal out of the City by Night, and go into the Camp, where the Army would be ready to receive them. This being punctually executed upon May 15. CCXVIII (k), the Soldiers did receive them all with Joy, and next Morning proclaimed *Varius Avitus* Emperor, by the Name of *M. Aurelius Antoninus* (l); and when they had done that, they throw

Capitol. in
 Macrino,
 sup. 9.

Herodian
 §. 8.
 Dion p.
 962. C.

threw themselves into the City of *Emesa*, and made all necessary Preparations to sustain a Siege.

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S. 12. *Macrinus*, who lay then at *Antioch* (*m*), soon heard of this new Creation; and knowing who the Persons were that contrived it, he despised it. He reckoned he should easily master Women and Boy's, and their Ministers as effeminate as themselves. He sent therefore *Ulpus Julianus* his Praefect, with part of his Army to suppress it. *Julianus* was a Man he could thoroughly confide in; for it was he who formerly had been so instrumental in preserving *Macrinus*, when Informations were sent against him from *Rome* to *Caracalla*. When *Julianus* came to *Emesa*, he found the Gates shut; and therefore that he might lose no time, he made an Attack upon the Town that very day, and might have stormed it, if he had not very imprudently founded a Retreat: For the *Mores* that were in his Army, were hearty in the Interests of *Macrinus* their Countryman, and had already forced some of the Gates of the City. But *Julianus* believing that the Townsmen and Soldiers within the City, would next day

Herodian
lib. 5. 5 7.

Dion p.
901.

surren-

A.C. 218. surrender themselves of their own accord, was unwilling to drive things to extremity, thinking that thereby he might prevent the Effusion of abundance of Blood. This unseasonable delay, was the ruine of himself and his Master: For the *Emeseni*, who knew there was no going back, fortify'd themselves in the Night, and prepared to meet *Julianus*. They were assured that all his Soldiers, except the *Mores*, were inclinable enough to desert; and therefore that those without might see *whom* and *what* they fought against, the *Emeseni* set their Mock-*Antoninus* upon the Walls, crying out, *Here's your Benefactor's Son! Can you fight against him and us that stand by him for his Father's sake?* They shew'd them likewise *Maesa's* Bags of Money, which *Julianus's* Soldiers were told they might share amongst themselves, if they would. The sight of young *Antoninus*, and the Money together, so charmed *Julianus's* Men, that the generality of them threw down their Arms immediately, and killed those Officers that made any Resistance, and then surrendered themselves and their Arms to *Antoninus*. But whilst some of the Inferior Officers labored

Herodian
lib 5.6-7.

Dion p.
901. C.

Dio ubi
supra.

labored to keep the Army to their Duty, *Eutychianus*, who from his jesting upon every Body was commonly called *Comazon*, one of the great Managers for *Elagabalus*, sent one *Festus*, who had formerly been Chamberlain to *Caracalla*, to make Proclamation in *Julianus's* Army, that whoever would bring his immediate Officer's Head to *Elagabalus*, should have the Estate, and the Command of that Officer for his Reward. This quickly put an end to the dispute, and the Soldiers of both Parties united their Forces, and *Julianus's* Army was received into the Town.

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Dio. Frag.
Valef. p.
760.

Id. p. 902.
D.

§. 13. When *Macrinus* heard of the Revolt of that part of his Army which he had sent before under *Julianus* to *Emesa*, he immediately went to *Apamia* to meet the Enemy: When he got thither, he found the Soldiers extreamly discontented, and some way was immediately to be contrived to quiet them. He restored them therefore all those Privileges which the old Legions had enjoy'd before under *Caracalla*; and that he might have a pretence to give them a new Donative, he declared young *Diadumenianus Augustus*. Upon which occasion he promised the old

Id. ubi
pra. E.

A a

Do-

A.C.
218.



Id p. 904.
D.

Id. p 902.
E.

Donative of 5000 *Denares*, and gave them a thousand in hand (*n*). He sent also a Letter to *Rome*, wherein he promised the People a *Congiar*y of 150 *Denares* (*o*), which is near 4 *l.* 10 *s.* a Man, without taking notice in his Letter that any Body opposed him, that it might look like a voluntary Gift, designed onely to do Honor to his Son. *Macrinus* likewise sent a Letter to the Senate in his own and his Son *Diadumenianus*'s Name, to notify his Son's Advancement, and to acquaint them with the new Attempts of *Elagabalus* and his Party. The Letter was written in so much Hast and Confusion, that it created him nothing but Contempt. *Dion Cassius*, who was then a Senator, takes particular notice of the Blunders which *Macrinus* made in this Letter: For tho it was sent in both their Names, yet the Son's Name was not set in the Inscription; and in the Body of the Letter he was onely called *Diadumenianus*, tho he had then assumed the Title of *Antoninus*. They wonder in their Letter, that *Elagabalus* a Youth of 14 Year's of Age, should dare to oppose them; and yet *Diadumenianus* was but Ten Years old himself.

self. Besides this Letter which the Two Emperors sent to the Senate, *Macrinus* sent another to *Marius Maximus*, whom he had newly made *Præfect of the City* in the room of *Adventus*, wherein he complains of the insatiable Avarice of the Soldiers, who had been so corrupted by *Caracalla*, that it was impossible to satisfy their desires; it being usual with that loose Emperor (as it has been observed already) to throw away above 2 Millions of our Money amongst them, one Year with another, besides their constant Pay.

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Id. p. 904.

A.

B.

21875000.

Id. p. 903.

A.

S. 14. *Macrinus* had not been long at *Apamia*, before the Head of his *Præfect Julianus* was brought him. For when *Julianus's* Soldiers went over to the Enemy, in the second Attack which he made upon *Emesa*, he ran away and hid himself, thinking so to escape: But some of *Elagabalus's* Party finding him, cut off his Head, and wrapt it up with great care in Linnen Clothes, with very strong Cords, sealing them when they had done with *Julianus's* own Signet: This was given to a Soldier to carry to *Macrinus* as the Head of *Elagabalus*, and it was bound with so much Art, on purpose that the

A.C. 218. Bearer might escape, whilst *Macrinus's* Servants were opening the Bundle. The design took, and the Fellow got away when he had delivered his Burthen. When *Macrinus* saw whose Head it was, he reckon'd all was lost, and returned immediately to *Antioch*. *Apamia* was situate almost in the midway between *Antioch* and *Emesa*, so that *Elagabalus* was just upon his Heels when he went away from *Apamia*, and he overtook him before he got to *Antioch*. In his March *Elagabalus* still encreased in strength, for the Army that quarter'd at *Apamia*, joined him when *Macrinus* was gone; and by that time he had overtaken the poor flying Emperor, he was almost equal to him in the Number of his Men. Expresses were then hourly sent to all parts of the Empire, continually contradicting one another, according to the side from whence they came, which occasioned strange distractions and frequent bloodshed. *Elagabalus's* Messengers were often knockt on the Head; but no Man suffer'd afterwards for what was done during the Heat of the Revolution; which ought so much the rather to be mentioned to his Commendation, because

Id. ibid. B
collat. cum
p. 902. E.

Id. ibid. C.

because it was almost the onely good thing that was done under his Government. So that tho the Senate upon *Macrinus*'s Letter declared *Elagabalus*, and his Mother, and Grandmother, and Aunt, and Cofin, Enemy's to the Empire, yet we do not find that any Man was called in Question for it, when *Elagabalus* got to Rome

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I. p. 904.
E.

§. 15. It is the Observation of the Heathen Historian *Dion Cassius* upon this very occasion, that when mighty Actions are to be done, *Fortune* often assists the Ignorant, and teaches them to carry on their Designs as wisely as the greatest Skill and Prudence could other Men at other times. If by *Fortune*, which is but a word, he meant *Providence*, which I am willing to suppose he did, nothing could be more truly observed in the present case. No Revolution was ever carry'd on by more unlikely Instruments, than this which threw down *Macrinus*. A thoughtless dissolute Youth, two or three Women, and two Effeminate Favorites, who being bred up to Luxury and Ease, were absolutely unacquainted with the Art of War, were the principal Actors in this great Work. And yet they seem

Dion p.
905. A.

A.C. not to have made one false step. They
 218. secured the Army by such means as of
 late had seldom failed, Ready Money,
 and Promises of more. They pushed
 on every Advantage that they got with
 great diligence; and suffer'd not *Ma-*
crinus to rest, when once they made
 him retreat. They overtook him in a
 Id. p. 888. small Village about XX Miles from
 E. *Antioch*, where *Gannys*, one of *Elagaba-*
lus's chief Ministers, performed the
 part of a prudent General, tho proba-
 bly he had never seen any Action be-
 fore in his Life: He first secured all
 Id. p. 905. the Avenues to the Village, and then
 A. drew up his Army with great Judgment
 against *Macrinus*: Thus *Macrinus* was
 forced to engage against his Will: His
 Men deserted him so fast, that he knew
 not well whom to trust; and *Elagaba-*
lus's Men fought very bravely, as ex-
 Herodian specting no Pardon if they lost the
 Lib. 5. § 8. day: But yet the Issue of the Battle
 had been not a little doubtful, if *Ma-*
crinus had not given it away by his own
 Cowardise: For his Guards either out
 of fear of losing their Rank in the Ar-
 my, or out of shame of being thought
 guilty of betraying their Emperor,
 made so vigorous a stand, that *Soaemi-*
 as


as and *Mæsa* fearing all would be lost, leapt out of their Chariot, and went themselves to their flying Troops, to entreat them to return back. Young *Elagabalus* also mounted on Horseback with his drawn Sword in his Hand, and ran amongst them with mighty fury to bring them on again. Hereupon they made Head once more against *Macrinus*, which when he saw, he left the Field, and ran to *Antioch*, giving it out all the way he went, that he had won the Battel, and that his Army would soon follow him. His Guards which had stood by him all along, knew nothing of his Flight, and were in a Consternation when they could not find their Emperor. They were unwilling to fight for one that was dead, and they as little cared to yield themselves Prisoners of War. But they were soon informed of the Truth by a Messenger from *Elagabalus*, who having understood by some Deserters whither *Macrinus* was gone, sent immediately to let them know that they fought now for a Cowardly Prince that had deserted them already; but that if they would surrender themselves, all should be forgotten that was

A. C.

218.

Id. p. 88
A.

Herodian
lib. 5. §. 8,
9.

A.C. 218.  past, and they should serve as his Guards in the same Rank they did before; whereupon they yielded presently.

Dion n.
889. B.

Id p. 905
B. C.

S. 16. *Macrinus* had not been long in *Antioch*, before the News of his Overthrow was carried thither, which occasioned many very bloody Skirmishes both in the City, and upon the Roads that led to it. It was not therefore safe for *Macrinus* to stay there, so he went off in the Night in a Disguise, shaving his Head and his Beard, and putting a Countreyman's Habit over his Purple, that he might not be known. He had sent away *Diadumenianus* before to the King of *Parthia*, that being the shorter Journey, and because he reckoned he would there be more out of danger. As for himself, his Business was to get to *Rome* as soon as he could: There he knew he had Friends enough who had long wisht for his Company, and who respected him for the good he had done among them already, and who besides were afraid of falling into the Hands of a Boy, led by two such Favorites as *Comazon* and *Gannys*. *Macrinus's* Expedition in his flight was so great, that wherever he went he
pre-

prevented the News of his own Defeat ; and passing for a Messenger sent to *Rome* in haste by himself, he made use of the public Carriages, and was accommodated in every place as he desired. Thus he travelled thro *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*, as far as *Eribeus* a Port-Town over-against *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*, where he took shipping to go for *Greece* : But the Wind being against him, when he had gotten almost to *Byzantium*, he was driven back agen to *Chalcedon*, where he was unfortunately discovered. For a Procurator to whom he sent for some of the Public Money, knew his Hand, and so he was presently seized upon by some of *Elagabalus's* Men, who carried him as far as *Archelaïs*, a Town in *Cappadocia*, where they cut off his Head. Those that apprehended him, designed to carry him alive to *Elagabalus*, who in all probability would have put him to an infamous Death. But whilst he was upon the Road, he received an Account that his Son was taken, and put to Death by *Elagabalus* : This News made him quite desperate, and desirous to dispatch himself as soon as he could. Those that guarded him, had
not

A.C.
218.

Dion p.
889. C.
collat. cum
p. 905. B.

Herodian
lib. 5. §. 9.

Dio. ubi
supra D.

Euseb.
Chron.

A.C. not bound him in his Chariot, and so
 218. he threw himself out of it: In the
 ~~~~~ Fall he broke his Shoulder, which  
 made his Keepers willing to kill him,  
 that they might put him out of his pain  
 the sooner.

Dion p.  
 890. A.

§. 17. This was the end of *M. Ope-  
 lius Macrinus*, in the LIV<sup>th</sup> Year of his  
 Age, after a short Reign of XIV Months,  
 wanting 3 Day's, if we reckon to the  
 Day when his Army was overthrown  
 near *Antioch*. *Macrinus* was an Empe-  
 ror that would have deserved a better  
 Fate, if he had not seized upon the  
 Empire after *Caracalla's* Death, since by  
 so doing he made all the World suspect  
 that it was Ambition, and not Self-Pre-  
 servation, that drove him to contrive  
 his Master's Ruine. For tho *Caracalla*  
 deserved very ill of the generality of  
 his Subjects, yet he had deserved well  
 of *Macrinus*, whom he had advanced  
 from nothing to the greatest Post in the  
 Empire. Besides, the Senate disdained  
 to be governed by a Man of no Birth,  
 who had been raised to what he was,  
 but few Year's before. They expect-  
 ed that he should have chosen one out  
 of their own Body, and have made  
 him Emperor after the Death of *Cara-  
 calla*.



*calla*. That had been the practise of former Conspirators. *Parthenius* and *Stephen* who killed *Domitian*, pitched upon *Nerva* to succeed him, before they put their design against *Domitian* in execution. *Laetus* and *Eclectus*, who killed *Commodus*, pretended not to the Empire themselves, but chose *Pertinax*, who had born the chiefest Offices in the Empire, and was then *Praefect of the City*. This took off the Load from themselves, and made all men applaud them for what they had done. Whereas now *Macrinus* having neither Courage nor Abilities sufficient to govern so vast an Empire, by grasping at that which every Man in the Senate-House thought himself better qualified to undertake than he, lived despised, and would have died almost wholly un lamented, if he had not been succeeded by *Elagabalus*.

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# N O T E S.

**Pag. 266.** (a) *Spartian* agrees with *Dion* in assigning the quantity of the Donative, which *Julianus* promised the Guards that he might get the Empire. ( in *Juliano* cap. 3. ) *Vicena quina milia* [ *nummum* ] *militibus promissset*. i. e. 6250 Denares ; which reduced to our Money is something above 195 *l.* a man.

**Pag. 269.** (b) *Severus's* Medals shew that he took the Title of *Pertinax* upon his first assuming of the Empire. For the first VII Year's of his Reign, they are usually thus inscribed ; L. SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS PERTINAX. In the VIII<sup>th</sup> Year of his Reign he layd down the Name of *Pertinax* ; and therefore after that, the Inscriptions of his Medals generally run thus, SEVERVS PIVS AVGVSTVS. *Spartian* in his Life of *Severus* takes notice of this Alteration of *Severus's* Name: *Se quoque Pertinacem vocari iussit : quamvis postea id nomen abolere voluerit , querimonis amicorum* ( *Spart. in Severo*, cap. 7. extremo. ) *Salmasius* thinks this Passage is corrupted, because he cannot believe that *Severus's* Friends would ever complain of his assuming the Name of *Pertinax*, which was so properly applied to him for his inexorable Cruelty, and his Rapaciousness ; neither of which qualities, as he managed them, they had reason to dislike, since they got so much by them ; and therefore he corrects it thus ; *Se quoque Pertinacem vocari iussit, quamvis postea id nomen abolere voluerit, atq. omen* ; so making *Amicorum* belong to the next Sentence, and turning *querimonia* into *atq. omen*. *Severus* changed, say's *Salmasius*, *nomen atq. omen Pertinacis*, the name and the omen of *Pertinax*, because the onely Emperor that ever had that Name, reigned but two whole Months. He would no longer therefore retain a Name that was so ominous. Which way soever the Passage be read, it is

is plain that *Severus* once took up the Name of *Pertinax*, and afterwards laid it down, which his Medals also justify. He assumed the Name of *PIUS* for his revenging the death of *Pertinax*. The Coins of *Severus* in *Mediobarbus* are miserably misplaced, and so Objections drawn from the Order in which he has ranged them, are of little weight.

(c) So *Dio*, lib. 55. p. 564. Α. Τέτατον [σεπτόν-  
δον] Σευδικόν, ἐν Σελεία. Pag. 271.

(d) *Herodian* say's, that after *Severus* had declared *Albinus* *Caesar*, he took care that Coins should be made in memory of that Partnership. Νομίσματα τε αὐτῷ κομῆσαι ἐπέτελλε. (Lib. 2 §. 49.) Abundance of Medals are preserved, inscribed thus, *Decimus CLOD- DIUS SEPTIMIUS ALBINUS CAESAR*. He did not assume the Title of *Augustus* till the Year *CLXXXVI*, then his Medals run thus, *IMP. CAE. D. CLOD. SEPT. ALB. AUG.*; because then he set up for him- self, in defiance to *Severus*. Pag. 275.

(e) *Severus's* Manners thus answering to both his *Cognomina*, it gave occasion to many People to throw Jest upon him in his Life-time, which they often did to their Cost *Damnabantur a'lii cur pleraque figurata dixissent, ut quod esset Imperator vere nominis sui, vere Pertinax, vere Severus.* (*Spartian* in *Sev.* cap. 14.) And *Julian the Apostate* in his *Caesars*, when he introduces *Silenus* jesting upon all his Predecessors, makes him afraid of *Severus*. *I have, say's Silenus, nothing to say of Severus, for I dread the excessive Cruelty of a Man that will never forgive.* ὡς ἐρ τέτυοῖπιν ὁ Σεληνός ἐδὲν λέγων, φοβῶμαι γὰρ αὐτῷ λίαν ἀπνέε, καὶ ἀπαραιτή-  
τον. *Juliani Caes.* p. 312 D. Pag. 277.

(f) If we may believe *Spartian*, *Caracalla* was not declared *Augustus* till after *Ctesiphin* was taken. *Oc- hoc* [nempe quod Parthicum nomen meruit Severus] filium ejus *Bassianum Antoninum* qui *Caesar* appellatus jam fuerat, annum decimum tertium agentem, participem im-  
perii dixerunt milites. *Spart.* in *Severo*, cap. 16. This is not the onely place where *Spartian* talks without Book *Caracalla* was in *TR. POT. XX* when he was killed, which was in *CCXVII* Consequently he must have been made Partner with *Severus*, and *Augustus* in Pag. 280.

in the Year CXCVIII. And so *Mediobarbus* has set his TR. POT. I ; or as the Ancients write it, TR. POT. without a Numeral Mark for the first Year. Then he was not quite Eleven. For he was but 29 Years old when he was killed. (*Dion.* 891. D.)

*Ibid.*

(g) The Ancients differ very much in their Accounts of the Situation of *Atrac*. *Stephanus* the Geographer (u. Ἀτράκ) says it is πόλις μεταξὺ Εὐφράτης καὶ Τίγριδος ; and for that he quotes *Arrian's Parthica*. *Herodian* places it on the outside of the *Euphrates*. His words are these : Ὁ δὲ Σεβήρ διαβάς τὴν περὶ τῶν μέσων γλῶττι, καὶ Ἀδιαβηνῶν χώραν, ἐπιδράμα καὶ τὴν εὐδαίμονα Ἀραβίαν — τὴν τε χώραν λεηλατῆσαι, ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν χώραν περιελαδίζετο τὰς Ἀτράς ἐπολιόρκει. (*Lib.* 3 §. 28.) With him agrees *Dion*, Μετὰ τούτῳ ὁ Σεβήρ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν διαβάς, ἐπειράθη μὲν καὶ τὴν Ἀτράν ὁ πόρρω ὄντων. (*P.* 854. E.) Their Authority in this matter seems unquestionable, because they agree here, tho' they differ widely in their Account of the War.

*Pag.* 281.

(h) *Barsimius* is *Bar-Shemshe* in Syriac, i. e. the Son of the Sun

*Ibid.*

*Not. in Armenian. Marcellin. lib.*

(i) *Dion* also mentions this Siege of *Atrac* by *Trajan*, (*p.* 785. C.) only there in our common Copy is Ἀραβίων instead of Ἀσσυρίων, as *Hen. Valesius* has most certainly corrected it.

25. cap. 8.

*Pag.* 284.

(k) This King of *Parthia*, whom *Herodian* calls *Artabanus*, *Dion* calls *Vologasus* ; I would rather follow *Dion*, because he mentions this King again by the same Name, under *Caracalla*, and then afterwards calls his Son *Artabanus*, whose Daughter *Caracalla* would have married in the latter End of his Reign: So that *Vologasus* died, according to *Dion*, about the Year CCXV, or CCXVI.

*Ibid.*

(l) I choose to set *Severus's* Triumph in the Year CCII, because that Year he and *Caracalla* were Consuls together. *F. Pagi* has invincibly prov'd, in his *Dissertatio Hypatica*, that it was customary for Emperors to take the Consulat themselves when they celebrated *Triumphs*, or *Decennalia*, or such sort of Solemnity's. And here was a great deal to be done, more than in any one Year of *Severus's* Life, and it was all

all done together. He came back to Rome, celebrated his Decennalia, triumphs, and married his Son; all which might be done in the latter end of this Year. Jan. 1. CCII Severus was at Antioch; that appears from Spartian. *Deinde quum Antiochiam transisset, data Virili Toga Filio majori, secum eum Consulem designavit, & statim in Syria Consulatum inierunt.* (Spart. in Severo, cap. 16.) Now since it appears from Dio and Herodian compared together, that Severus went in the Year CCII, when he was Consul, from Antioch into Egypt, and so came home by Land thro Syria and the Lesser Asia, and so over Sea into Thrace, and thro Illyrium, Mr de Tillemont (*Vie de Severe Note 24.*) will not allow that he could return home that Year, and consequently asserts that Severus did not triumph, &c. till the Year CCIII. Then, say I, either he, or Caracalla, or his Son Geta at least, would have been Consuls in CCIII, and not barely Septimius Geta, the Emperor's Brother, and Fulvius Plautianus. It is granted that Severus could not return to Rome till late in the Year. But no more did Marcus, who triumph'd in Dec. CLXXVI. upon his return out of the East. Marcus's doing so, is an Argument to me that Severus did so too; who loved to imitate Marcus in every thing but his Clemency, and called himself DIVI MARCI FILIUS There was not so much for Severus to do, from Jan. CCII. to Dec. CCII. but he who was by no means a Loiterer, might easily do it. The Journey's of Princes being fixt to a day then, as we see they are now, every Province and City which knew when to expect their Emperor, would not fail to get all things ready to receive him at that time. Severus's Medals do not contradict my Assertion in the least. Upon his coming home we have this Coin in Occo, Medisbarbus, and Morellus: SEVERUS PIUS AUG P. M. TR. POT. X. COS. on the Reverse of which is ADVENTUS AUGG. with Three Figures on Horseback of Severus, Caracalla, and Geta. This Medal will serve for any time after June 2. CCII. when Severus entred upon his TR. POT X That they triumph'd when they came home, no body disputes. Upon Caracalla's Marriage we find this Medal

dal in *M. Vaillant*, ANTON. PIUS AUG. TR. POT. V. COS. and on the Reverse PLAUTILLAE AUG. *Caracalla* entered upon his TR. POT. V. in April CCII. His *Tribunitial Power* commenced in April CXCVIII, so that TR. POT. V. must answer to CCII. The difficulty lies in some Medals of *Severus* with this Inscription, VOT. SUSC. DEC. TR. P. XI. Now *Severus* entered not upon his TR. POT. XI. till June 2. CCIII. Accordingly his *Decennalia* seem not to have been celebrated till then. But that does not follow. For when *Severus* X<sup>th</sup> Year was ended, and his XI<sup>th</sup> Year begun, the People offered Vow's for his Happy Reign, and as the Medals express it, did SUSC. VOT. X. for the X Years next to come.

Page 285. (m) 'Εἰς τὴν ἀρεὰν ταύτην (say's *Dion* p. 859. B) πντακισχίλια μυριάδες δραχμῶν ἀναλώθη. That is, 50,000,000 of *Denares*; i.e. 1,562,500 l. of our Money.

Page 287. (n) *Dion* calls this *Saturninus* a *Centurion*, and repeats it more than once (*lib.* 76. p. 861.) whom *Herodian* calls a *Tribune*.

Page 291. (o) There is a mighty Controversy amongst the Antiquaries, concerning the place where to fix this Wall or Dyke of *Severus*. *M. de Tillemont* (*Vie de Severe*, Note 28.) takes pains to prove that it was between the *Friths* of *Edinburgh* and *Dunbritton*; grounding his Opinion upon this Passage of *Eutropius* (*lib.* 8.) *Novissimum Bellum in Britannia [Severus] habuit, utque receptas Provincias omni securitate munit, Vallum per XXXII M. P. a mari ad mare deduxit.* These XXXII Miles, says he, will do no where else. But then *Spartian* says that *Hadrian* built a Wall in *Britain* LXXX Miles long, to keep out the barbarous Nations from making Inroads into that Province. *In Britannia multa correxit, murumque per LXXX M. P. primus duxit, qui Barbaros Romanosque divideret.* (*Spart* in *Hadriano*, cap. 11) Now the *Picts Wall*, the Ruines whereof are still standing, was without question raised between *Tine* and *Solway Frith*, and was about LXXX Miles long. Then it should seem that the *Picts Wall* was raised upon *Hadrian's*. But *Bede* says (*Hist. Angl.* lib. 1. cap. 12.) the *Picts Wall* was raised upon *Severus's*.

his's. Then *Severus* built upon *Hadrian's Wall*, i. e. between *Tine* and *Solway Frith*. But then if *Severus's Wall* was built upon the Ruines of *Hadrian's*, what shall we say to the assertion of *Dion Cassius*, That *Severus* granted a Peace to the *Caledonians*, upon condition that they should surrender a considerable share of their Countrey? Ἐς ὁμολογίαν τοῦ Βρεττανῆς ὅτι τὴν χώραν ἐκ ὀλίγης ἐκστῆναι ἀναγκάστας ἐλθεῖν. (*Dio. lib. 76. p. 867. C.*) Shall we think that when *Severus* had obliged the *Caledonians* to surrender a considerable part of their Countrey, he made his Wall so far South, that they might enter upon it again? The Boundaries between the Roman Province and the *Picts*, after *Hadrian's* time, were never farther South than what is now called the *Picts Wall*. If therefore *Severus* made his Wall so far South, he gave up agen what the *Caledonians* had been newly forced to part with. That was not *Severus's* fashion, to lose what he had gotten, in such a manner. And *Dion's* Authority seems to be indisputable. So that I should rather think *Severus* built upon the *Turf Wall* that *Lollius Urbicus* raised in *Antoninus Pius's* time, between the *Fritbs* of *Edinburgh* and *Darbrioton*; and then the *Caledonians* might truly be said, χώραν ἐκ ὀλίγης ἐκστῆναι, to part with a large Countrey. The chiefest Argument against this, is the Tradition in *Bede's* time, that the *Picts Wall* was built upon that made by *Severus*. But that may be easily answer'd. *Severus* was long in *Britain*, and left a lively remembrance of himself behind him; so that it was natural for the *Britains* to ascribe more things to him than ever he did; whereas the name of *Hadrian*, who first made the *Dyke* between *Tine* and *Solway Frith*, might easily be forgotten by the Countrey People. In which Case, it was natural for them, who remembered that some Emperor first built the *Picts Wall*, to fancy that that Emperor must have been *Severus*. But I am aware that very great Men are of another Opinion, and so I define nothing. Those that would know more of this Question, may consult *A. B. Usher's Primordia Ecclesiarum Britannicarum*, *Bishop Stillingfleet's Origines Britannicæ*, and *Mr. Camden's Britannia*, with the Notes of my very Learn-

ed Friend Mr. Nicolson, Arch-Deacon of *Carlisle*, upon *Camden's* Discourse concerning the *Piſſis Wall*. For the matter of *Severus's* Wall, I am enclinable to think it was *Stone*, because *Spartian* calls it *Murus* ſo often, and alſo *Maximum ejus imperii decus* ; which ſeems to ſhew that it was ſomething more than ordinary, exceeding what had been done before by *Hadrian* and *Antoninus Pius*.

Page 194.

(p) *Dion* ſeems to contradict this, when he ſay's, that tho *Severus* loved to get Money all manner of way's, yet he never put any Man to death to get his Eſtate. *Χρηματις ἔξ ἅπαντο πρόσω, πλὴν χάρις ἵδνα τέτων χάρις ἀπικλινε.* (p. 869. B.) But yet he does not contradict it, if we conſider that what *Dion* ſay's, is to be underſtood of *Severus's* Practice after *Albinus* was killed, and the Executions upon the account of the Civil War were over. Thoſe Senators and Rich Men that fell during thoſe Confuſions, were ſuppoſed to be put to Death for taking part with *Severus's* Enemy's, and not originally for their Eſtates. Beſides, as *Severus* laid the blame of a great part of his Severity's upon *Plautianus* and *Juvenalis*, the Captains of his Guards, ſo 'tis probable *Dion* might like- wiſe.

Page 196.

(q) *Tertullian's* words in the printed Editions are theſe; *Proculum Chriſtianum, qui Torpacion cognominabatur, Eubodiae Procuratorem, qui cum per Oleum aliquando curaverat, requiſivit, & in Palatio habuit uſque ad mortem ejus; quem & Antoninus optimè reverat, latè Chriſtiano educatus.* *Eubodiae* here ſeems to be corrupted for *Evodi*. *Evodus*, *Dion* ſay's, was *Caracalla's* *Τεσφός*, (p. 861. B.) *Τεσφός* is properly he that has the care of the Education of another. *Gloſſ. vet. Educator, Τεσφός.*

Page 298.

(r) *Spartian. in Severo. cap. 17. Judaeos fieri ſub gravi poena vetuit. Idem etiam de Chriſtianis ſanxit.*

Page 305.

(s) There is an Inſcription of a Medal in *Osce*, (p. 392.) *DIVO GETAE PIO*: But I queſtion whether it be genuine, becauſe neither *Mediobarbus* nor *Vaillant* mention any Medal relating to *Geta's* Conſecration, that they had ſeen themſelves.

(t) *Spar-*



(i) *Spartian's* words are these; *Occidit etiam Pompeianum Marci Nepotem, ex filia natum, & ex Pompeiano cui nupta fuerat Lucilla post mortem Veri Imperatoris, quem & Consulem his fecerat, & omnibus Bellis praeposuerat, quae gravissima tunc fuerunt.* (in *Carac.* cap. 3.) It is not easy to understand these words. 'Tis plain that *Spartian* puts the Death of *Pompeianus* amongst those Executions which *Caracalla* made upon his Brother *Geta's* Murder. That was in CCXII. Then *Caracalla* had had no Wars after his Father's death, so that *Pompeianus* could not in the Year CCXII have been *Caracalla's* General in former Wars. And yet it is plain from *Herodian*, that *Pompeianus's* Death must not be set lower; for he say's, that after *Caracalla* had killed his Brother, he killed his Wife, his Cousin German, and *Pertinax's* Son, and *Lucilla's* Son, i.e. this *Pompeianus*. In which Account he agree's with *Spartian*. So that those words of *Spartian*, *Quem omnibus Bellis praeposuerat*, ought to be understood of some Commands which *Pompeianus* had in the latter Year's of *Severus's* Reign, when *Caracalla* was *Augustus* as well as his Father. So the difficulty will be wholly removed. In the Year CCIX, *Pompeianus* was ordinary Consul, with [Julius] *Arvitus*, who seem's to have been Husband to *Julia Maesa*, the Grandmother of *Elagabalus*. He had been Secondary Consul some time before; that Consulat being reckoned according to custom, when he was made Consul Ordinarius. That Year [CCIX] *Severus* got great advantages over the *Caledonians*: And *Pompeianus* might very easily, when the Months of his Consulship were expired, be one of *Severus's* Lieutenant-Generals in that War. The condition of *Severus's* Health, who was carried about most of the time in a Horse-Litter, required him to have able Officers about him, in whom he could confide. However, those words, *Τῆς τε Κομμόδου α' Σελφῆς Λυκίλλης Τιδὺ* (*Herod. lib. 4. §. 11.*) shew, that *Spartian* was not mistaken, mentioning the Son, when he should have named the Father; as both *Casaubon* (in *Spart. loc. citat.*) and *Mr. de Tillemont* (*Vie de Caracalla Art. 7.*) seem to apprehend.

Page 311.

(u) It is disputed amongst the Antiquaries, whether *Caracalla's* Expedition against the *Germanus* was in CCXIII, after he had been in *Gallia Narbonensis*, before his Return to *Rome*; or in CCXIV, after he had been at *Rome*. Mr. de Tillemont (*Vie de Caracalla l' An. de J. C. 214*) and Mr. Vaillant (*Præstant. Numism. part. 2. p. 259.*) suppose the latter. The Coins in *Mediobarbus* seem to prove the former. We find there Medals inscribed thus, ANTONIN. PIUS AUG. GERM. TR. P. XVI. These belong to the Year CCXIII, or the beginning of the Year CCXIV. Then his Victories over the *Germanus*, such as they were, must have been obtained that Year. Mr. de Tillemont quotes *Occo* for a Medal, with PROECTIO AUG. joined to *Caracalla's* TR. P. XVII. and would infer from thence, that he went against the *Germanus* in CCXIV. But he was thinking of something else when he wrote this, for no such thing appears in *Occo*. If the Coin's in *Mediobarbus* are true, (and many of them he seem's to have seen himself) *Caracalla* took the Title of *Germanicus* in CCXIII. For 'tis certain that when he died he was in TR. POT. XX. that appear's from many Coins in *Occo*, *Mediobarbus*, and *Vaillans*. He was in *Rome*, Feb. 5. 214. as appear's by a Rescript of his, still extant in *Justinian's Code* (*Lib. 7. Tit. 16. §. 2*) And then distributed his *Caracallæ*, which are taken notice of in his Coin's, which are inscribed LIBERAL. VIII. These *Gonius Aurelius* Victor say's he brought out of *Gaul*, where he certainly was in CCXIII. I know no way of reconciling these two Opinions, but either by asserting that *Caracalla* was twice in *Germany*, in CCXIII, and in CCXIV; or by supposing that the Victories got by his Lieutenants in CCXIII, made him first take the Title of *Germanicus*, which he went himself to secure in CCXIV. This however is certain, that after his second leaving *Rome* in CCXIV, he never saw that City more.

Page 316.

(w) In the Writers of the History of the later Emperors, whenever there is mention made of the Friends of an Emperor, Senators and Men of Quality are meant, who were as it were his Privy-Council. They

They are called the *Emperors Amici* by the Latins, and φίλοι by the Greeks. We can only English them *Friends*. The *Treasurers* of dissolute Princes were usually their *Freed-men*, or their *Eunuchs*, but by the ancient Historians such are never called *Friends*. This Passage of *Dio* sufficiently proves my Assertion: 'Απ' αὐτῶν ἐλάχιστα μὲν τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς σωῶσιν οὐκ ἀνῆλθεν — τὰ δὲ πλεῖα μετὰ τῶν ἑξαλοφθέντων ἔδεικναι. (*Dio in Frag. edit. per Valesium. p. 754*)

(κ) In memory of this Worship which *Caracalla* paid to *Aesculapius*, there is a Medal of him in *Medio-barbus*, stamped in the Year CCXV, with *Aesculapius's* Image on the Reverse, and the *Telephorus* by him, to shew that the Emperor had been fully initiated in all the Rites of that Deity.

Page 317.

(γ) *Herodian* tells this Story quite otherwise. He say's, that upon the first Embassy *Artabanus* utterly refused *Caracalla's* proffers; but upon a second, more splendid and more pressing than the first, he consented to the Alliance; and at *Ctesiphon* (which he calls τὰ βασίλεια τῆς Ἀρταβάνου) in a Plain near the City, the Roman Emperor was to meet his Bride: That they met accordingly; and that the *Parthians* suspecting no Treachery, laid by their Arms, and whilst their Horses were grazing in the Fields, they and the Romans feasted together for joy of their new Alliance; and that in the midst of their Mirth, *Caracalla* order'd his Men to fall upon the *Parthians*, who did so, and killed and took abundance of them Prisoners, their King himself escaping with very great difficulty. This Account is not near so probable as *Dion Cassius's*. It is not likely that the *Parthian* would enter into such an Alliance with *Caracalla*, whose perfidious usage of the Kings of *Armenia* and *Osihoene*, he had just then before his Eyes. Besides, if he had at last consented to the Match, yet it is scarcely credible that he would have trusted himself so far with *Caracalla*, as to give him an Interview with his own Guards unarmed and careless about him, as at a Countrey Feast, whilst the other had a powerful Army ready at a Minute's warning, to fall upon him whenever he pleased.

Page 325.

Lib. 4.  
§. 19, 20.

*Ibid.*

(2) *Mediobarbus* (*ad annum 217.*) produces several Coin's inscribed *VICTORIA PARTHICA*. *Reinesius* also has published an Inscription of *Caracalla's* made just before his death, wherein he is called *PARTHICUS MAXIMUS*. *Reines Inscrip. p. 294.*

Page 327.

(a) He whom *Herodian* (*lib. 4. §. 23.*) calls a *Centurion*, *Dion* calls an *Evocatus*. The Rank of each (tho not the Authority) being the same, it is common for ancient Writers to use the Terms promiscuously. *Dion* say's *Martialis* was disoblged, because when he was an *Evocatus* already, *Caracalla* would not make him a *Centurion*. The *Evocati* were those who after they had served their full time, and might challenge to be dismiss'd, yet served voluntarily afterwards at the desire of any particular General. They had their Name from that desire or call of their Commanders, which they obey'd. *M. de Tillemont* in his *Lives of the Emperors*, calls them *Exempti* very properly, because they were obliged to none of the Duties of Legionary Soldiers, but onely that of fighting upon occasion.

In my Account of the Reasons of *Macrinus's* Conspiring against his Master, I have endeavoured to reconcile *Dion Cassius* and *Herodian*. *Dion* say's, that *Maternianus* sent his Letters to *Antioch*, where they were opened by *Julia Domna*; and that *Ulpus Julianus* sent his Express directly at the same time to *Macrinus*, who had time to form his Conspiracy, whilst *Maternianus's* Pacquet was stopt at *Antioch*. *Herodian* on the other Hand say's nothing of the Warning which *Macrinus* received by the Messenger that was sent by *Ulpus Julianus*, but supposes that *Maternianus's* Pacquet went directly to *Edessa*. *Dion* is generally more exact in setting down Particulars, than *Herodian*; and in this case he must needs have known the Truth. The Mean therefore that I have given, will I believe reconcile them. It is not likely that *Julia Domna*, who knew her Son's Temper, would keep *Maternianus's* Pacquet long; and then it is natural enough to think that *Caracalla* might give it to *Macrinus* to peruse before he had opened it, who to be sure would be ready upon the Watch to take it, when he was forewarned already

ready by the Notices he had received from *Ulpian* *Julianus*.

(b) *Dion's* words are these; *Ἐς δὲ ἐπὶ ταχισταίας μυριαδας ἐπιτίνας ἔ αὐξήσων αὐτῆς, ἔ ὑπὸ τοῖς Ταράνταις ἡμοιόφλου τείνειν.* 70, 000, 000 *Denares* make 2, 187, 500 *l. sterling*. Pag. 329.  
P. 904. B.

(c) The *Latin* Historians tell a formal Story of *Caracalla's* incestuous Marriage with *Julia Domna*; whom they make to have been onely his *Mother-in-Law*. But that is a great Mistake. *Julia* was *Caracalla's* Mother, as well as *Geta's*. *Dion*, who personally knew them both, alway's speaks of her as *Caracalla's* own Mother; and so does *Herodian*. *Oppian*, who dedicated his *Cynegetic's* to *Caracalla* in the beginning of his Poem, speaking of *Julia Domna*, has this Expression, Pag. 335.

*Τὸν μεγάλην μεγάλῳ φουδίσσατο Δόμνῃ Σεβήῳ :*  
which if there were no other Authority, puts this matter out of Question. *Dio* (p. 874. P.) speaking of *Caracalla* in one place, say's he had all the Craft of the *Syrians* from his Mother, who was a *Syrian*. *Domna's* Father *Bassianus* was Priest of *Emesa* in *Phoenicia*. There could not be above 14 Month's difference between the Age of the two Brothers. *Caracalla* was just XXIX Years old when he was killed, April 8. 217; and *Geta* was XXII Years and IX Month's old in Feb. 212. when his Brother killed him. This destroys the Story of their incestuous Cohabitation, of which neither *Herodian* nor *Dion Cassius* say one word; and yet they shew so great a willingness to set this profligate Emperor in his proper Light, that they would not have omitted it, if it had been true. The Original of the Calumny seems to have sprung from the *Alexandrians* calling her *Jocasta*, (*Herod. lib. 4. § 16.*) alluding to *Oedipus's* Mother; which they did, because she lived still at Court, after her Son *Geta* was murder'd. But *Dion* plainly intimates that she durst do no otherwise, since any Concern for her dead Son might have cost her her Life. Nay, according to him, she mourned in secret for her Eldest Son's Extravagancies, and spent her time much with Philosophers and Learned Men in her latter Year's; which Concern of hers would not have been so great, if she

had had such an Incessant Commerce with her Son *Caracalla*, as *Spartian*, and from him *Aurelius Victor* and *Eutropius* say she had.

Page 337.

(d) In the *Excerpta* of *Dion*, published by *Leunclavius*, ( whose Edition I use in all my Citations ) the Sum which *Caracalla* expended upon these Poysons, is *ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτῶν πέντε καὶ πεντακοσίων μυριάδων*, i. e. 234, 375 L. In *Xiphilin's* Abridgment it is but *πεντακοσίων καὶ πεντακοντα μυριάδων* ( p. 884. B. ) which is but 171, 875 L. The *Excerpta* being transcribed out of the Original History, it seems safest to follow them; tho there is no doubt but *Xiphilin* set down the Sum as he found it in his Copy.

P. 891. C.

Page 338.

(e) *M. Vaillant*, in his *Numismata Imp. Rom. Præstantiora*, produces several Medals to confirm this Consecration of *Caracalla*, with *DIVO ANTONINO MAGNO* on one side, and *CONSECRATIO* on the other. He is called *MAGNUS* here in Complement to his Extravagancies, one of which was to be thought like *Alexander the Great*.

Page 339.

lib. 4 § 30.

(f) *Herodian* tells here a formal Story of a Fight between *Artabanus* and *Macrinus* for two day's together, in which neither side had the better; and that on the third day they fought so long, till the number of the Men and Beasts that were killed was so great, that the Heaps of Carcasses were piled up so high, that neither side could see their Enemies, which obliged them by mutual consent to adjourn the Fight: And that then *Macrinus* considered that *Artabanus* had a Personal Quarrel against none but *Caracalla*, and therefore would in all probability desist, when he knew that his Enemy was dead, and accordingly sent him word of it; whereupon *Artabanus* was contented to go home again, upon his receiving back the Prisoners and Plunder that *Caracalla* had taken from him before. Thus *Herodian* tells the Story. But this is not the only place where he acts the part of an Orator. *Dion's* Account is much more consistent with it self, and one would think he could not well be mistaken here.

ibid.

(g) *Dio* say's that *Macrinus* gave *Πεντακοσίων μυριάδων* to buy his Peace; i. e. 1, 562, 500 L. sterling.

P. 887. B.

(h) The

(b) The Latin Historians alway's call this young Prince *Diadumenus*; which Name was given him, because he was born with a strong Membrane like a Fillet or Diadem round his Head, which is the meaning of the Greek word *Διαδύμηνος*. For the Diadem which is seen round the Heads of several Roman Emperors upon their Coins, is onely such a Fillet adorned with Pearls or Gems. But in all his Coins he is constantly called *Diadumenianus*, as he is also by *Dion Cassius* and *Herodian*. This makes it probable that *Macrinus* changed his Name when he made him Cæsar, that it might have a more Roman Termination; as *Diocletian* afterwards lengthen'd his Name from *Diocles*, for the same Reason.

Pag. 341.

(s) *Lamprid.* in *Elagabalo*, cap. 8. *Infestatus est famam Macrini crudeliter, sed multo magis Diadumeni- caigit denique Scriptores nonnullos nefanda immo potius mira dicta de ejusdem Luxuria disputare in vita ejus.*

Pag. 343.

(t) So *Herodian* (lib. 5. §. 6) But *Dion Cassius* say's that *Eutybianus Comagen*, one of the great Agents for *Elagabalus* in the management of this Revolution, carried him privately out of the Town in the Night, and convey'd him into the Camp, without the Knowledge of his Mother or his Grandmother. *Μήτηρ δ' μητρὸς αὐτοῦ, μήτε δ' μητρὸς ἑταίρας.* (p. 888. B.) This does not seem so probable as the Account which *Herodian* gives.

Pag. 350.

(l) No Roman Emperor ever had so many Names and Nicknames as this brutal Prince. His true Name, before his Advancement to the Empire, was *Varus Arvius Bassianus*. *Varus Marcellus* his Father, was Husband of *Severina*. (*Dion* p 902. A.) His-Grandmother *Julia Maesa* was married to *Julius Arvius*, a Native of *Emesa*; and *Bassianus* was Father to *Julia Domna* and *Maesa* both. (*Aur. Victor. in Epitoma.*) So that he was called by the Names of his Father, Grandfather, and Great-Grandfather; and the true Name of his Family was *Varus*. The Name he is commonly called by in History is *Heliogabalus*, or as it ought to be written, *Elagabalus*. *Elagabal* was the Name by which the *Emeseni* called the Sun, whom they worshipped in the shape of a Conical Stone, which they believed to have

Ibid.

have come down from Heaven. Διομένη τε αὐτὸν ἐν  
 συμνολογῶσιν. ( Herodian, lib. 5. §. 5. ) Bochart, who  
 alone has given us the true Etymology of this word  
 ( Canaan. lib. 2. cap. 5 ) derives it from *Ela*, which in  
 Syriac signifies God ; and *Gabal*, to form, or give any  
 thing the shape it has ; i. e. as he well interprets it, Θεὸς  
 ὁ πλαστὴς, vel κτιστὴς. A proper Epithet, according to  
 Heathen Notions, of the Sun. The Verb *Gabal* is  
 used several times in this sense in the New Testament,  
 particularly Rom. IX. 20. where for these words, Shall  
 the thing formed say to him that formed it, why hast  
 thou made me thus ? It is in the Syriac, *Dalmo omro Ge-*  
*biltho leman degablo, dalmo bocano gebalthani* ? The  
 Latin Writers call this Idol with its Priest, *Heliogabalus*  
 with one consent, believing that that senseless  
 Image took its Name from the Greek word Ἡλιος,  
 which signify's the Sun. But the Coins of *Elagabalus*  
 have the Name always true. SANCTO DEO SOLI  
 ELAGABALO. SOLI ELAGABALO. SACERDOS.  
 DEI SOLIS. ELAGABALI. & ELAGABALI. are fre-  
 quent Inscriptions of Coin's, in *Occo*, *Mediobarbus*, and  
*Vaillant*. *Occo* produces besides one Medal with this  
 Inscription, IMP. CAES. M. AUR. ANTO. ELA-  
 GAB. PIUS. AUG. ( p. 400. Edit. Augustan. ) as if  
 this Emperor had called himself *Elagabalus* upon his  
 Coins. But this Medal is question'd by *Mediobarbus* ( ad  
 numm. 219. ) and perhaps deservedly. *Herodian* calls  
 him ἐλαιαβαλῶς ; but *Dion* reads his Name right,  
 ἐλαβάλας, and he best knew. *Xiphilin* indeed  
 reads it, ἐλοβάλας ( or perhaps his Editors may  
 have mended it from the MSS. as they thought ) :  
 But *Photius* in his *Excerpta* ( Bibl. Cod. 71. ) out of  
*Dion*, calls him ἐλαβάλας, *Elagabalus*, agreeably to  
 the Medals. I have rather chosen therefore to call this  
 Emperor *Elagabalus*, with the most Learned Modern  
 Antiquaries, than *Heliogabalus* with the Latin Histori-  
 ans, who might not perhaps have seen any of his Me-  
 dals, at least not taken any notice of them ; tho when  
 disputes arise of this kind, Medals are the onely pro-  
 per Authority's by which they can be decided. The  
 other Names by which *Dion* calls him, are all Names  
 of Reproach ; and most of them ( as I suppose ) gi-  
 en



ven him after he was dead. *Tiberius*, because he was thrown into the *Tiber*. *Affyrus*, because of his Effeminacy, and imitation of *Sardanapalus*. *Pseud-Antoninus* is plain: And *Lupus*, which is a Name that occurs once or twice in *Dion*, seem's to be a Nick name, or a false reading in the Copies of *Dion*, relating to something now unknown concerning him. The Name by which he called himself, was *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, which the Soldiers gave him at *Emesa*, in memory of his reputed Father *Caracalla*.

(m) One of the *Journey's* in *Antoninus's Itinerary*, is from *Antioch* to *Emesa*. In *Swita's* Edition that is set at CXXXIII Miles, in *Simler's* at CXXXIV. The distance from *Antioch* to *Apamia*, in *Swita's* Copies, which are the most correct, is LXIX Miles; thence to *Emesa* LXIV: *Apamia* therefore was about the midway between them both; for which reason *Macrinus* chose it for a proper Resting-place, between his own and his Enemy's Head-Quarters.

Page 351.

(n) *Macrinus's* first Donative was but 750 Drachmes a Man; but then the Treasury was low, and the Guards were four times as many as they had been formerly. When he saw that would not please, he came to the old Donative of *Julius Caesar*. (See Note q page 154. *supra*.) But whether that was onely for the Guards, or for the whole Body of the Legionary Soldiers, is uncertain. Either way it was a horrible Burthen, and shew's the deplorable State of the Empire at that time.

Page 354.

(o) As in this last Donative to his Soldiers, *Macrinus* had respect to that proportion which *Julius Caesar* first made use of; so in his *Congiar* he seems to have had an Eye to that *Congiar* also which *Julius Caesar* promised to give the People upon his Triumph, when he gave his Donative to his Soldiers; onely with this difference, that the Donative was the same, and the *Congiar* double of that which *Caesar* at first promised. *τῷ σιτοδοτῆρι δὲ ὅχλῳ τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε δραχμὰς ἂν προῦπιχέτο* (*Dio p. 224 D.*) *Severus* and *Caracalla* had increased his Burthen in the Army, by increasing the Number and the Pay of his Guards at least, if not of all the rest; so that there *Macrinus* could

Ibid.

could not well rise higher than former allowances, especially since this was the *Third Liberty* which had been given them in XIII Months time. Whereas it does not appear that *Macrinus* had ever given the People any *Congiarum* before, since his Accession to the Empire. One thing perhaps may be worth observing concerning this *Congiarum*, that in all the Coins wherein the memory of it is preserved, none have TR. POT. upon them, tho several have S. C. Which looks as if *Macrinus* was unwilling that the time when he gave this *Congiarum*, should be preserved, because he gave it so late.

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T H E

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T H E  
L I F E  
O F

*M. Aurelius Antoninus  
Elagabalus.*

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*Of the Actions of Elagabalus, from A.C.  
his Victory over Macrinus, to his 218.  
Death.*

**S.I. T**HE next day after the Battle June 7.  
wherin *Macrinus* was over-  
thrown, *Elagabalus* entred into *Anti-*  
*och*, where he gave his Soldiers 500 157.121.6d.  
*Denares* a Man, that they might not  
plunder the City; and then exacted it Dio p.  
906. A. B.  
of the *Antiochians* by way of Contri-  
bution. After that, he sent Letters  
to the Senate and People of *Rome*, no-  
tifying his Success, and desiring that  
they

A.C. 218. they would declare *Macrinus* a public Enemy, and give him no Assistance. In his Letters he stiles himself, *Emperor, Cæsar, Augustus, Antoninus's Son, Severus's Grandson, Pious and Happy*; assuming also the *Tribunitial* and *Proconsular* Power, without staying for the Senate's Confirmation of any of these Titles. It had not been usual for former Princes to take all these Titles themselves, but either to stay for the Senate's Grant, or at least to desire their Confirmation, neither of which *Elagabalus* now regarded. This gave the Senate great Apprehensions; which however were somewhat qualify'd by the Indemnity given to the People of Rome in general, for all that they had acted formerly against him at the Command of *Macrinus*. This was one of the very few things wherein he behaved himself like a wise and an indulgent Prince. The People and the Senate had in their Public Acts, and upon other occasions, thrown abundance of dirt upon *Elagabalus*, and those that were concerned with him, so that they were now under great Terrors, finding the Tide thus unexpectedly turned. But they were all freely pardoned; except

Id. p. 907.  
B p. 909 E.

Id. p. 907.  
C.

Dio ex  
Frag. Edit.  
per Valef.  
p. 761.

## Antoninus Elagabalus.


383

except the particular Agents of *Macrinus*.

A.C.

218.

§. 2. In those Letters which *Elagabalus* then sent to *Rome*, he inveighed with great bitterness against *Macrinus*, as the Murtherer of his Master, whom he was appointed to guard. He reflected upon him likewise for pretending to the Empire, when he was not so much as a Senator; neither was his Birth nor present Station sufficient to recommend him. He promised also extraordinary things of himself, pretending that he would imitate *Augustus* and *Marcus*. He named *Augustus*, because he fancy'd their Fortunes were very much alike. Both set out at XVIII, for so old *Elagabalus* did pretend to be, to take off the Prejudices that the People might entertain against him upon the account of his Youth, which *Macrinus* had objected to him. Both began with revenging their Father's Death: And the Success which *Augustus* met with in the prosecution of his Design, was a good Omen to *Elagabalus*, and might induce the People to expect great things from the Government of a Prince, who proposed to imitate so wise and so prosperous a Pattern.

  
Dion p.  
906. B.

Id p. 907.  
A.

§. 3.

A.C.

218.



Dio. ex  
Frag. Va-  
lef. p 761.

S. 3. But notwithstanding all these fine Promises, he was afraid of opposition, which he might have met with, if *Macrinus* had got safe to *Rome*. He sent therefore to *Pollio*, then *Consul Suffectus* (a), to empower him to gather together what Force he could, to constrain the Senate to acknowledge him, in case there should be any Opposition. Whereupon the Senate immediately proclaimed *Elagabalus Augustus*, and *Macrinus* a public Enemy. They commended also *Caracalla's* Memory, and wish that his Son might prove like him; and it is very probable gave the Title of *Augusta* to *Mæsa* and *Sotemias* at the same time: To so great Slavery was the *Roman* Senate then reduced. The Letters which *Macrinus* sent before to *Rome*, to *Marius Maximus*, wherein he complained of the Covetousness of his Soldiers, whom he was not able to satisfy, had by some Accident been intercepted by *Elagabalus*, who had gotten likewise *Macrinus's* private Papers (b) concerning the State of the Army, which he had drawn up for his own Use. These *Elagabalus* sent to the Senate, and communicated Copy's of them to the Soldiers, that they might

Dio. p.  
907. B.

might have the greater abhorrence of *Macrinus*. When he had done all this, he marched from *Antioch* towards *Rome*, where *Maesa* longed to be, and he wintred upon the Road at *Nicomedia*.

A. C.

218.

Herodian  
lib 5. §. 11.

§. 4. The frequent Changes that had of late happened in the *Roman* Government, induced several to declare for themselves; foolishly imagining, that to be bold and daring were Qualifications sufficient to obtain the Empire. These Fancy's led one *Severus*, Tribune of the Third *Galic*, and *Gellius Maximus*, Tribune of the Fourth *Scythic* Legion, that quarter'd in *Syria*, to declare for the Empire; though the first had from a private Centurion been brought into the Senate, and the other was originally onely a Physician's Son. These two Candidates however were Senators. But besides them, three others tried their Fortunes; one a Centurion's Son in the Legion, where *Severus* failed before; another a Clothier, and the third a private Man, who attempted the Fleet that lay at *Cyzicus* at the very time when *Elagabalus* was at *Nicomedia*; besides several inconsiderable Persons in other places, whose

Dion. p.  
909. B. C.  
& p. 564  
A.

P. 909.  
D

C C.

Names

A.C. Names are quite forgotten. All these  
 218. meeting with the due Reward of their  
 ~~~~~ Folly, served onely to strengthen *Elagabalus*, who was after that quietly obey'd throughout the whole *Roman Empire*.

§. 5. It is probable however, that these Mock-Emperors, though they gave the new Government very little disturbance, might precipitate the Executions of several of *Macrinus's* Friends, and other Great Men whom *Elagabalus* cut off. For tho no Man suffer'd for any general Assistance given to *Macrinus* during the Heat of the Revolution, neither was there any curious Inquisition made after Enemy's or Neuters, when the work was done, as *Severus* had made formerly upon like Occasions; yet the Heads of the opposite Party, and other worthy Men, were put to Death in the beginning of the Reign of *Elagabalus*, to gratify either his own Lusts, or the Revenge of his powerful Favorite *Eutychianus*. *Julianus Nestor*, Captain of the Guards to *Macrinus*; *Fabius Agrippinus*, Governor of *Syria*, and the chief Officers of Horse that were with *Macrinus*: *Rianus* Governor of *Arabia* under him; and *Fric-*
cianus,

Dio. p.
 907. D.

Antoninus Elagabalus.

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cianus, who has been mentioned already as one of his Creatures, who tho of a very mean Original, was a dextrous Man, able to serve his Master, and true to his Interests; besides several other of *Macrinus's* nearest Friends, were killed at first. *Claudius Attalus*, his Lieutenant in *Cyprus*, who had been turned out of the Senate long agoe by *Severus* for taking part with *Niger*, and afterwards brought in again by *Caracalla*, had the Misfortune formerly to cashier *Eutychianus*, when he was a private Soldier in *Thrace*, for which now he was put to Death. *Seius Catus*, a rich Senator, was slain for his Wealth, and because the Ministers of *Elagabalus* were afraid of his Ability's, he having the Reputation of a very wise Man; tho other Causes of his Execution were pretended. *Valerianus Pætus*, another Senator, was killed for making some Statues of himself in Gold, which he presented to his Mistresses. He was accused also of intending to put in for the Empire in *Cappadocia*, which was near his own Countrey *Galatia*, and of making Gold Medals of himself, to disperse there amongst the People. *Elagabalus* killed *Sylla* likewise, late Governor

A.C.

218,

6c.


Id. p. 908.
B.

Id. p. 907.
E.

Id. p. 908.
C.

D.

6.

A.C. 218, *Ec.*  vernor of *Cappadocia*, whom he had sent for from *Rome*; because he tampered with the *Gallie* Legions in their return home out of *Bithynia*, where they had made some Disturbances.

S. 6. But those Executions were little regarded, in comparison of what *Elagabalus* did with his own Hands, upon the Man who had deserved the best of him of any Man living, and that was his Favorite *Gannys* (*c*). For it was *Gannys* who had in the main contrived this whole Revolution; he carried *Elagabalus* first into the Camp at *Emesa*; he brought the Soldiers to declare for him against *Macrinus*; and it was his Conduct chiefly that won the Victory near *Antioch*, which determined that whole Controversy; he had been Tutor and Governor to this young Prince, and *Elagabalus* killed him onely because *Gannys* laboured to bring him to live more soberly and more wisely than he shew'd Inclination at any time to do. *Elagabalus* was forced to do this horrible Action himself; for every Man about him detested such monstrous Ingratitude, and the two Empresses were particularly fond of *Gannys*.

Dio. Frag.
Valef. p.
761.

Ib. p. 762.
collat. cum
Dione
Lennclav.
p. 911. A.

nys. *Mæsa* loved him, because she had bred him up, and *Soaemias* loved him so well, that a Marriage was agree'd upon betwixt them, and then *Gannys* was to have been declared *Cæsar*. The Soldiers loved him too, because he was a generous and a friendly Man, ready to do Kindnesses to those that apply'd themselves to him, and very unwilling to do any Man harm, tho he would sometimes take a Bribe. This Execution therefore thus done by *Elagabalus* himself, alienated the Hearts of all Mankind; and that which the wiser part of the Court seems afterwards onely to have aimed at, was to inspect the Education, and to secure the Succession of *Alexianus*, as soon as he should be old enough to manage the Empire himself.

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E.C.

§. 7. After the Death of *Gannys*, *Elagabalus* who was still at *Nicomedia*, display'd himself in all his Colours. Tho he was not above XV Years old, yet he was past being governed or advised, and wholly gave up himself to the most unbridled Lusts, and extravagant Follies. And that which made these things the more wonderful, was, that a vein of Superstition ran thro all

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218,

E.C.



Herodian
lib. 5. § 11.

Herodian
lib. 5. § 12.

his Actions ; so that whilest he lived like a Brute, he would needs seem pious. All his Success was attributed to the Influence of his *Syrian* God *Elagabal*, and therefore tho he was Emperor, he still officiated as Priest to that Deity. His Habit was of the finest Silk, and Cloth of Gold, adorned with Bracelets and Necklaces of Jewels, as rich and costly as could be made ; For thus he said the Priests of his Idol ought to be array'd. The *Romans*, who thought it a Mark of Effeminacy for Men to wear Silken Garments, were scandalized at this luxurious Dress ; and *Mæsa*, who dreaded the ill Consequence which such a fantastical appearance in a *Roman* Emperor might occasion when he was got to *Rome*, laboured to diswade her Grandson from it, but in vain. However, that the People might be accustomed to their Emperor's Habit before they saw him, a Picture of *Elagabalus* thus attired, standing before his Idol, and sacrificing to it, was sent to *Rome*, and ordered to be set up in the Senate-House, in the most conspicuous place over the *Statue of Victory*, and the Senators were required to offer Incense, and make a Libation of Wine to this Picture

Picture every time they met ; and *Elagabal* was the Deity which every Magistrate , and all those who were to make any public Sacrifices, were particularly commanded to worship on all solemn Occasions, before any other of their Deity's.

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- §. 8. This was a Specimen of what the *Romans* were to expect from their giddy Prince. Every thing else was suitable. In the Year CCXVIII, *Macrinus* declared himself Consul the second time with *Adventus*. The two Months of *Macrinus's* ordinary Consulship were expired before he died, and the new *secondary* Consuls were of course subrogated in the place of him and of *Adventus*. *Pollio*, to whom *Elagabalus* wrote immediately after his Victory over *Macrinus* , was one of them. Now tho *Macrinus* was no longer *actual* Consul, yet because all the Acts of that Year were to be dated under the Consulat of *him*, and of *Adventus* , *Elagabalus* struck *Macrinus's* Name out of the *Fasti*; and at first only named *Adventus* in his Dates, and then put his own Name in the place of *Macrinus's*, as it still appear's in the *Ancient Fasti* (*d*); so that tho he acted not

Dion p.
909. E.
910 A.

A.C. 219. as *Consul Suffectus* in the Year CCXVIII, nor for the time could be *Consul Ordinarius*, yet the next Year, CCXIX, he called himself *Second time Consul*, when he took the Consulship with *Licinius Sacerdos*.

S. 9. Having thus prepared the way, *M. Aurelius Antoninus* (for so this young Emperor alway's called himself) comes to *Rome* in the Year CCXIX: Where, that he might be the more welcome, he made the usual Distributions to the People (e), and exhibited noble Spectacles of all sorts. But his great and onely Concern indeed for any thing that look'd like Business, was to do Honour to this Stone-Idol; by which he represented the *Sun*. He built a magnificent Temple to it near the Palace, which was erected with all possible speed. Thither he went every Morning, and offer'd Hecatombs of Oxen, and an innumerable quantity of Sheep, which he laid on Altars loaded with Spices, and washed with the richest and oldest Wines that could be procured, many Barrels of which were consumed upon them at a time with incredible Profusion, that the Honour might seem the greater which was paid to this Image. These ridiculous Super-

Herodian
lib. 5 S. 13.

perstitutions, celebrated with Music of all sorts, and Dancings performed by Women brought on purpose out of *Phoenicia*, were so much the more insupportable, by how much *Elagabalus* made them particularly burthenome to all the People of Quality in the City. For the whole *Senate*, and the Order of *Knights*, were obliged to attend these Ceremony's as often as the Emperor had a mind to call them. Nor was any part of the Solemnity to be performed by the common Sacrificers Servants; the chiefest Magistrates of the Empire must be employ'd therein, even to hold the Entrails of the Beasts; *they* were obliged to wave the Golden Censers over their Heads, in long Purple *Phoenician* Garments, with Linnen Sandals upon their Feet, like Priests of the *East*; And whoever was allow'd to bear a part in these *Mumme-ry's*, it was expected he should esteem it a mighty Favor.

Id. ibid.

§. 10. So passionate was the Concern of *Elagabalus* for this Deity, (to whose Influence, as has been taken notice already, he ascribed all his and his Family's past Success) that it was one of his beloved Titles to be stiled the

PRIEST

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Vid. supra

Note 1. p.

378.

Occo.

Mediob.

Vaillant.

Herodian

lib. 5. §. 16.

**PRIEST** of this **HOLY GOD**. There is great variety in his Medals, in those coyned by the Senate, as well as in those struck by himself, wherein this Priesthood of his is described. **CHIEF PRIEST**, and **INVINCIBLE PREIST** of **ELAGABAL** or the **SUN**, are commonly to be met with round his Image, which stands in a sacrificing Posture, with a Censer in its Hand, over an Altar. Besides the Temple which he erected to this Idol in the Palace, he built another very large and magnificent in the Suburbs, whither every Year in the Heat of Summer the original Image it self, which he had brought to *Rome* from *Emesa*, was constantly carried. The Procession was as pompous as it was possible to make it. The Conical Idol was placed alone in a Triumphal Chariot drawn by Six Milk-white large Horses (*f*), with their Harness exquisitely adorned with Gold. The Emperor held the Reins himself, and ran backwards along by the Chariot side, that he might the more frequently view his God. The way was thick strow'd with Gold-coloured Sand, that he might not stumble nor slip, since he could not see which




which way he went ; and his Guards were likewise ready in case of an Accident to hold him up on either side of the Chariot. The People made a Lane for him and the Chariot to pass, with Torches in their Hands, strewing Flowers and Garlands as they went, and offering the Images of all their Gods, and the most sacred and valuable Treasures of their Temples to this new Deity. When the Procession was over, and the Image placed in the Temple, and the Solemnity's and Sacrifices at an End, *Elagabalus* from a Scaffold, with his own Hand distributed his Gifts to the People, Silver and Gold Cups, Garments of Linnen of all sorts, with various Kinds of Beasts wild and tame, except Hogs, so that many were trod to Death in scrambling for these Presents of the Emperor ; and the Festival turned into a Day of mourning to many Families.

§. 11. The Gentile *Romans*, who had been educated with Sentiments of Reverence towards their other Gods, were extreamly grieved to see, that whatsoever they held dear or sacred in their Idolatrous Worship, must all now be sacrificed to this new Image. They could

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Cf.

- A.C. 219, Ec.  could have been contented to have worshipt it as the Tutelar Deity of the *Emeseni*, and as such to have erected a Temple to it; but to prostrate all their other Idols to this single one, that they thought was abominable. And yet nothing less would satisfy *Elagabalus*: For all their Gods in his Opinion were but Servants to his: Some indeed he said were worthy to wait upon *Elagabal(g)* in his Bed-Chamber, whilst some again were fit onely for meaner Offices.
- Lamprid. in Heliog. cap. 7. The Image of *Pallas*, which was pretended to have been brought from *Troy*, and which no Man ever saw, but only when *Minerva's* Temple was burnt, was chosen (as we shall see afterwards) to be the Images Wife. The *Vestal Fire* was to have burnt constantly before it likewise, but the Keepers gave the Emperor a wrong Urn, and so preserved, as they vainly thought, the Religion of their Goddess. He was so vain as to hope to comprehend the *Jewish (h)* and *Samaritan* Religions in his own, and therefore perhaps it was that he circumcised himself, and superstitiously abstained from Swines Flesh. For he was desirous to put the Religious Rites of every sort of Men in practice, that he might the more
- Herodian lib. 5 § 15.
- Lamp. ib. cap. 6.
- Id. ibid. cap. 3.
- Dion p. 911 B. & in Frag. Valef. p. 762.

more easily bring them to pay a Reverence to his own Deity. It is probable that he would have been baptized too, foolishly imagining that he might seduce the Christians to worship his Idol by that means; and perhaps he was, if there were any Apostates profligate enough to betray and blaspheme their most holy Faith, to gratify his fantastic Humor. He pretended to castrate himself like one of *Cybele's* Priests, and then went thro all their troublesome and idle Ceremony's of Initiation, and afterwards removed the Image of the *Mother of the Gods*, to keep company with his *Black Stone*.

Lamp. in  
Elagab  
cap. 7.

§. 12. Another of his Whimsy's was, that it was fit his God should marry. *Pallas* was first thought on, and accordingly her Image was removed to the Bedchamber of his God; but she being a Warlike Goddess, was no proper Companion for the *Sun*, who was supposed to be the *Former of the World*, and the *Giver of Life*; and therefore she was soon removed. *Pallas* being thus rejected, the *Moon* was chosen to supply her Place, whose Image under the name of *Astarte* was worshipped with great Superstition at *Carthage*.

Herodian  
lib. 5. §. 5.

The

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Herodian  
lib 5. § 15

Dio. p.  
912. C.

The Statue of this HEAVENLY VENUS ( as the Medals of *Elagabalus* stile her ) was sent for therefore to Rome (i) from *Carthage*, where *Dido* the *Phœnician*, the Foundress of that City, was first said to place it. This Idol was the true *Ashtaroth* of the *Phœnicians* (k), who now was again united to their *Baalim*, the ancient *Abominations* of those *Canaanitish* Nations so often mentioned with detestation in the O. Testament. The *Carthaginians* were very loath to part with their adored Image; but *Elagabalus* thought the Sun and the Moon would make a proper Match, and commanded that the Image should be brought, and placed near his beloved *Elagabal*. That this Goddess might not want a Portion, ( for it was not fitting so great a Deity as his God should marry a Wife without a Dowry ) all those rich Offerings which had been made her for many Ages, which were almost inestimable, and had been preserved with the utmost care in her Temple at *Carthage*, were brought along with her, and great Rejoycings were observed all over *Italy* at her Arrival; and the same Presents were made to the Emperor by all his Subjects,

that

that were usually made upon an Emperor's own Marriage.

A. C.

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Ec.

§. 13. Some grave Men, unaccustomed to these things, shewed their dislike of them early. But this HIGH PRIEST of the SUN was now above Reprehension; and to shew that he was so, he brought an Accusation into the Senate against *Silius Messala*, and *Pom-*

*ponius Bassus*, two very eminent Senators, because they did not approve of his proceedings; and accordingly that poor enslaved Assembly condemned them to Death. It was said indeed that *Messala* endeavoured to oppose *Elagabalus's* Advancement to the Empire; and *Bassus* was reported to have been cut off for a much fouler Reason, that the Emperor might marry his Wife. But the open Crimes for which it was given out that they suffer'd, were onely the dissatisfactions they shew'd towards their Prince, for his extravagant way of living. Who could indeed be pleased with it? When if there had been nothing else, his very Prodigality alone must have confounded more Money in a few Years, than the whole *Roman Empire*, if it had been vastly richer than it was, could have possibly supply'd him with.

Dio. p.  
908. E.

§. 14.

A. C.

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Gc.



Lamprid  
in Heliog.  
cap. 19. &  
cap 23.

Ibid. &  
cap 20.

Cap. 21.

Cap 23.

§. 14. For surely there never was such an Instance of wanton Profuseness, as the History of *Elagabalus* affords us. His Bathes were alway's filled with Liquors nobly perfumed. He exhibited Sea-Fights in Ponds full of Wine. His Beds on which he lay at his Entertainments, and on which his Guests lay with him, were of massy Silver: Sometimes he would order large Dishes of Camels' Heels, Peacocks and Nightingale's Tongues, the Heads of Parrots, and the Brains of Partridges, to be served up to his Table. Mullets Beards were brought in vast Salvers like Salads, and he would feed his Dogs with Livers of Geese, his Horses with *Syrian* Grapes, and his Lions and other Beasts that were preserved for the Amphitheater, with Pheasants and Parrots. He would order Pearl, instead of Pepper, to be strow'd amongst the Fish that was sent ready drest to his Table. When he was near the Sea, he would eat no Fish; if he was far within Land, nothing but the scarcest Sea-Fish, exquisitely drest, would please him. He would entertain Peasants with the Rarity's of the Sea, which a Royal Purse could scarcely have procured upon the Coast.

Coast: Nay, he would fill large Ponds with Sea-Water, and store them with proper Fish, at a great distance from the Sea. He never us'd any Linnen or other Clothes but once. He burnt Eastern Balsams instead of Oyl in his Lamps. The Services of Plate of all sorts, which were used in his Entertainments, he generally distributed amongst his Guests; and sometimes he would have new Services brought in at the same Feasts, and give them away too as well as the former.

A.C.

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Ec.

Cap. 23.

Cap. 24.

Cap. 19.

§. 15. He was exceedingly humour-some in his Prodigality, and very often mischievous: His Rooms of Entertainment had sometimes moveable Floors, and then he would suffer his Guests to drop down amongst Violets and other Flowers, which were spread so thick, that they were sometimes smothered. He kept tame Lions and Leopards, which (as they termed it) were disarmed, having their Claws and their Teeth broken; these he would let in at the second, and sometimes at the third Course, among his Guests, to frighten them, and to make himself sport. The Ancient Romans had a Custom at their *Saturnals*, that when an Entertainment

Cap. 11.

ibid.

A.C.

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E.C.

*Ibid.*

Cap. 22.

Dio p.  
911. C.

was over, every Guest carried something away with him as a Present to his own House, what the Entertainer pleased: In these Presents *Elagabalus* was incredibly extravagant: Sometimes he would give Sets of Chariot-Horses; sometimes Mules, and Chariots or Litters; he would give a 1000 *Aurei* away in that manner at a time (*l*); and 100 *l.* weight of Silver; sometimes he would divide his Presents into Lots, some of very great Value, and some of none at all. These his Guests were to draw out of a Vessel, wherein they were shaken together, and what they drew they had; one had Ten Camels, another Ten Flies, a third 10 *l.* weight of Gold, a fourth 10 *l.* weight of Lead: Thus ridiculously diverting himself with the Passions that every Man would severally shew, according as his Fortune had been more or less kind to him.

§. 16. This fitting unsettled Temper was visible in all his Actions. When he came to *Rome* he wanted a Wife, and the first that he took was *Julia Cornelia Paula* (*m*), a Woman of a very Noble Family. When he married her, he gave a magnificent Congiary to the People: The Senators, the *Equites*,  
and



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and even the Senators Wives did partake of this Liberality: The People had 150<sup>a</sup> *Denares* a Man, and the Soldiers 100<sup>b</sup> more than the People. The Shew's of the Amphitheater were then so splendid, that no less than 51 Tigers were killed at one time. Thus no Cost was spared, to shew how pleased *Elagabalus* was with his new Wife. Yet it was not long before he put her away, pretending that she had some Blemish in her Body, which made her unfit to be the Wife of so great a Prince. The next he married was a Vestal Virgin, *Julia Aquilia Severa*, and made her *Augusta*; justifying his Marriage to the Senate, which was no better than an incestuous Cohabitation, according to Heathen Principles, with saying that nothing could be properer, than for a Priest of a God to marry the Priestess of a Goddess. Her also, upon some dislike, he put away, and took *Annia Faustina*, a Grand-Daughter of *Marcus*; from her Husband *Pomponius Bassus*, whom he barbarously murder'd, that he might marry his Wife. All these Wives *Elagabalus* made *Augustae* in their turns, and put them all away too one after another; Only *Aquilia Severa* he took

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<sup>a</sup>4l. 13s. 9d.  
<sup>b</sup>7l. 16s. 3d.

Herodiani  
lib. 5 § 14.  
Dion. p.  
911. D.

Herodiani  
lib 5 § 14.  
Dion p.  
910. E.

p. 911. E.

again

A. C.  
219,  
Ec.



again a second time, more perhaps because all Men looked upon his marrying her at first as a horrid Crime, than that he loved her any better than the rest. And if the truth of these things, upon the Testimony of the Historians, should be questioned, yet the Authority of the Medals which are preserved of all these Empresses, in the Collections of the Curious, puts it beyond dispute.

Lamp. in  
Heliog.  
cap. 18.

§. 17. His Mother *Soaemias* knew better how to manage him than his Wives. The Ancient Historians describe her as a very profligate Woman, and one that humoured him in all his Extravagancy's and his Lusts. When *Elagabalus* came to Rome, he brought her into the Senate; and that which neither *Livia* nor *Agrippina* ever attempted, this Syrian Lady ventured to do, which was to appear publicly in that August Assembly, and to be present as a Witness when they past their Acts. He carried his Grandmother also into the Senate upon solemn and urgent occasions, that her Presence might add weight to what he was to do. But it is probable she did not go so often as *Soaemias*, for she was the wiser

Lamp. in  
Heliog.  
cap. 4.

Cap. 15.



wiser Woman of the two, and she seems to have spent much of her time in bewailing in secret the Miscarriages of her Family, and endeavouring to secure the uncorrupted part of it from the Contagion of the rest. Whereas *Soaemias* was not content with intruding into the Counsels of the Men, but she had a Senate of Women by herself, where weighty Questions relating to Womens Affairs were debated, and Regulations were accordingly made. The Habit, the Rank, and the Precedence of every Woman was there determined. They enacted who should be carried in a Chariot, and who in a Chair; who should ride on Horseback, and who upon Asses; who should be driven by Mules, and who by Oxen; who should wear Gold, and who Jewels in their Shooes; with other matters of like importance.

Lamp. in  
Heliog.  
cap. 4.

§. 18. But these things were inconsiderable, in comparison of those Brutal Pursuits of unnatural Lusts, to which this unfortunate Prince addicted himself during the whole Course of his Reign. The *Gentile* Historians themselves, with blushing own they were not fit to be remembered; tho they say

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a great deal too much, even when they pretend to say but very little. I fear no blame for passing over all that part of the Life of *Elagabalus* in silence; Should I do otherwise, I am sure I ought not to be forgiven. It affords a melancholy view of Mankind, when left to themselves, when no Sense of *Honor*, no regard of *Humanity* or *Decency* restrains them. For nothing superior to these could have had any influence upon this Prince, who being ignorant of the true God, had onely the Light of Nature to walk by; which how soon and how effectually he extinguisht, we have already seen.

Herodian  
lib 5. §. 17.

§. 19. Things had gone on now about three Years in this confused and monstrous manner, when *Julia Maesa*, who knew they could not long last thus, began to think how to secure her self and her Family. The Army were ashamed of their Emperor, the Senate and the Wise Men among the People looked upon him with detestation. She foresaw, if a suddain Mutiny should carry off *Elagabalus*, it might very probably sweep his whole Family along with it, and she must perish, or what would have been to her

as bad, she must again have been reduced to a private Life. Her Grandson's Prodigality would in a few Years unavoidably have exhausted the whole Wealth of the Empire, beyond all possibility of Redress; and she was aware that the Soldiers would quickly rise, when that which used to stop their Mouths, should fail. And now no Man could get any place Civil or Military, but either *Elagabalus's* loose Companions, or those that bribed them. For many any Man might be a Senator, tho he had neither Age, nor Family nor Estate to recommend him. Governments of Provinces, and Commands in the Army, were openly and infamously sold. His old Favorite *Comazon* was *Consul* in the Year CCXX, one of the *Captains of the Guards*, and three several times successively, upon Vacancy's, made *Præfect of the City*, as other *Præfects* were removed; and he was the only tolerable Minister that this Prince employ'd. Another of the *Captains of his Guards* had been a *Dancer*, and had acted publicly upon the Stage: He made a *Chariot-driver* *Commander of the City-Company's*, and a *Barber Præfect of the Corn*. These were

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E.C.

Lamp. in  
Heliog.  
cap. 6.Dio. p.  
908. A.Herodian  
lib. 5. §. 19.  
Lamp. in  
Heliog.  
cap. 12.

A.C.

219,

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the chiefest Employments in the Empire, and were usually given to the most considerable Men of the Court, either for their Merit, or by Favor: But now these, and all the other great Offices were thus disposed of, to those that were eminent for their Skill in the Exercises of the *Circus*, the *Stage*, or the *Amphitheater*, or whose Interest was founded upon Reasons more infamous than any of these.

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Herodian  
lib. 5 §. 17.

§. 20. *Mæsa* therefore in the Year CCXXI, when the *Roman* Empire had thus long groaned under such a Set of Governors, persuaded her Grandson to adopt his Cousin-German *Alexianus*, and to make him *Caesar*, and Partner with himself in the Government. She told *Elagabalus* it was not fit for him who was so much better employ'd in Divine things, and in attending to the Worship of his God, to busy himself in ordering the Affairs of this World. Some body therefore he ought to adopt, and his Cousin would be the properest, because then he need not go out of his own Family; and besides, he might take care that his Son should be trained up to his Business early, who would soon be able to take all the trouble off him.

himself, and then he would be perfectly at leisure to do his Duty as High Priest to his God. These plausible Reasons soon prevailed with this unthinking Prince, and the Soldiers were easily won to agree to this Adoption: for long before, as soon as *Elagabalus* began to shew himself at *Nicomedia*, they bitterly repented of what they did, when they pulled *Macrinus* down to set him up. Then he went to the Senate to acquaint them with what he had done, and sitting between his Mother and his Grandmother, desired the Consent of the House. He told them he thought this Adoption was necessary, that his Family might be free from Sollicitudes upon the Account of a Successor; and besides, his God *Elagabal* commanded him to adopt his Cousin, and also to give him the name of *Alexander*. Here the Senate did not oppose him, they were not a little pleased with what he had done; and they willingly ratified this strange Adoption of a Son about Fifteen, when the Father was not above XVII Years of Age. And to let Posterity see how well pleased they were with what their Emperor had done, they stamped Medals to the

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221.

Dion p.

914. E.

IN-

A.C. INDULGENCE of their Prince in  
 221. providing them with such a Successor (n).  
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Herodian
 l. 5. §§ 18,
 19.

§. 21. But this Adoption soon displeased *Elagabalus*. He found the Dispositions of young *Alexander* were too virtuous for him, and that the growing Hopes of that wonderful Boy would in a short time eclipse his Glory. He laboured therefore all he could to breed this adopted Son of his after his own manner ; to dance, and revel, and commit all manner of Excesses. But *Mammaea* his Mother kept him strictly to his Business, and took care to have him instructed in Polite Learning, Philosophy, and Corporal Exercises, proper for a Young Prince, by the best Masters that could be procured ; and his Education was in every part of it adapted to the future hopes of the People. All this enraged *Elagabalus* to the highest degree ; He order'd all the Tutors of the Prince to be dismiss'd the Court, and killed some of them, and banished the rest ; assigning very ridiculous Reasons for what he did, and pretending that they would quite spoil his Son with their Learning, and stupify his Brains with those grave Lectures

tures which they were continually instilling into his tender Soul. At last perceiving that *Mamaea* still crost his designs, he sent to the Senate to command them to null *Alexander's* Adoption; but when the Message was delivered, they made no Answer to it. They knew the Army would stand by them, and so they ventured to disobey their Emperor's Orders; which perhaps is the onely Instance of very great moment of that kind, that can be produced in the whole *Roman* History, after the Supreme Power came once to be transferred to a single Person. *Elagabalus* then try'd to Assassinate Young *Alexander*, and went to the *Gardens of Hope*, (which was an House of Pleasure) at some distance from the *Palace*, intending to stay there till there should be an Account brought to him that the Fact was done. But his Grandmother and *Mamaea*, who were aware of his Designs, soon prevented them. Then he laboured to corrupt the Governors of *Alexander*, and would fain have induced them to destroy him any way they could, by Poyson, by the Sword, or in the Bath. But here too he failed; for they were too faithful to be corrupted,

A.C.

221.



Lamp. in
Heliog.
Cap. 13.

Cap. 14.

A.C. 221. rupted, and they preserved their Charge against all his Attempts. The

Designs of *Elagabalus* had of a long time obliged *Mamæa* to keep a strict Guard over her Son, and she would suffer him neither to eat nor drink any thing that was sent him by the Emperor. His Kitchen and his Cellar were kept apart, by his Mother's Directions, who distributed Money among the Soldiers plentifully under-hand, to secure them to her Son, when any proper Conjunction should happen.

Herodian
lib. 5. §. 21.

Lamp. in
Heliog.
capp. 13,
14.

§. 22. Whilst this design of murdering *Alexander* in private was thus in agitation, it was necessary to try how the Guards would relish it, and therefore *Elagabalus* sent to them to declare *Alexander's* Adoption void; and not supposing that he should find any Opposition from his Guards, he ordered the Statues of *Alexander* that were in the Camp, to be daubed over with Dirt; which is an Indignity never used to be shewn, but to those who were declared Tyrants by the Army or the Senate. This Experiment soon shew'd him his own Weakness: For upon this Affront put upon their Young Prince, the Guards rose, and some went to the
Palace,

Palace, to rescue *Alexander* from the Hands of *Elagabalus*; others went to the *Gardens of Hope*, to be revenged upon the Emperor himself. Those that went to the *Palace* brought away *Alexander*, with *Maesa* and *Mamaea*, to the Camp, and there kept them with great care. *Soaemias* too ran after them, being solicitous for her Son, and desirous to compromise matters before they were gone too far. *Elagabalus*, who stay'd still in the *Gardens of Hope*, and expected every minute when they should bring him word that *Alexander* was killed, was just giving Orders about a Chariot-match, when he was surprized with the Noise of the Soldiers approach. When he perceived the Cause of it, he hid himself in a private Room behind a Curtain, and sent the *Captains of his Guards* to quiet the Soldiers, some to the Camp, and others to those who were just now breaking in upon him. *Eutychianus* (d) one of the *Præfects*, beg'd of the Soldiers that were at the *Gardens of Hope*, to remember their Oath, and not to murder their Prince, whom they had so solemnly sworn to serve. This Consideration allay'd their Rage, especially

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221.

A.C.

221.

Dion p.
915. D. E.Lamp. in
Heliog.
cap. 15.

Cap. 16

Dio &
Lamp.
ubi supra.

ly when they began now to reflect upon their being but a Rabble, being assembled without their Standard, which *Aristomachus* their Tribune had detained behind. When those Soldiers that had broke into the *Gardens of Hope*, were a little quieted, *Elagabalus* went into the Camp, where *Alexander* was; and having placed that young Prince next himself, begg'd and pray'd for Forgiveness, and promised to do whatsoever the Soldiers should desire. Upon these Promises of future Amendment, the Guards were pacify'd, and engaged to overlook what was past, if he would dismiss his vile Crew of Plaiers and Chariot-Drivers, and such sort of Companions, and reform his way of Living, and carry himself suitably to his Station and Quality for the time to come. The *Captains of his Guards* were enjoined likewise to have an Eye upon his Actions, and they were particularly charged with the Care of *Alexander*, to see that none of *Elagabalus's* Comrades should come at him, that his tender Mind might be preserved from the Contagion of such filthy Company. *Elagabalus* willingly consented to all these things; onely begg'd that

Antoninus Elagabalus.

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that one *Hierocles*, an infamous Creature, whom above all his Companions he dearly loved, might be suffered to stay with him.

A.C.

221.

§.23. The *Kalends of January* CCXXII,

A.C.

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now came on, when *Elagabalus* and *Alexander* were to take the Consulship. It was expected that they should have gone into the Senate-House together, according to custom, to be inaugurated there, that being the Day when they were to enter upon their Office. But when the time came, *Elagabalus* would not go along with his Cousin *Alexander* to the Senate, till his Grandmother and Mother, who dreaded the Consequences of his Stubbornness, if the Soldiers should once come to understand that there was no good Correspondence between them, did with much ado persuade him to go thither about Noon. After which, when they were to have gone together to the Capitol to offer the Customary Vow's for the Prosperity of the ensuing Year, he would not stir, and so the whole Solemnity was performed by the *Præfect of the City*, who in the absence of the Consuls is *Præfident of the Senate* by his Place. (p) From this time forward

Lamp. in
Heliog
cap. 15.

Elaga-

A.C. *Elagabalus* spent the Remainder of his
222. Life in contriving how to get rid of

~ Alexander with safety to himself. But this Design he apprehended was not to be attempted, so long as the Senate stay'd in Town; or if he should attempt it, he was afraid they would set up somebody else to be Emperor in his room. For as for the Soldiers, he seems to have believed, that let him do what he would, a good Donative would certainly have pacify'd them at last.

Cap. 16. He commanded the Senators to withdraw out of the City within such a time; in the Execution of which Order he was so rigorous, that those that had not Conveniency's of Carriages or Servants of their own, he sent away upon such Beasts as they could hire upon the suddain. *Sabinus*, one of that Order, a Man that had once been Consul, ventured to stay behind; and when *Elagabalus* heard of it, he ordered a Centurion to kill him. These Orders being given in a low Voice, the Centurion either did not hear them, or pretended Deafness, and understood his Master as if he had onely commanded him to drive *Sabinus* out of Town, which preserved his Life. *Elagabalus*
now

now free'd from all Apprehensions from the Senate, imagined that he might destroy *Alexander* with ease; but *Maesa* who was a very subtle Woman, still countermined all his Designs; which he, being giddy and heedless, took no care to conceal. However, he did not immediately attempt to kill *Alexander*, but confined him for a while in the Palace, and spread a Report that the Young Prince was dead, that he might see how the Army would bear it. When the Soldiers heard that *Alexander* was dead, whom they had not seen for some time, they lost all Patience, and refusing to guard the Emperor, shut themselves up within their Camp, demanding to have their young Prince immediately produced. *Elagabalus*, affrighted at this their Resolution, took *Alexander* along with him in his Chariot, and went into the Camp, to endeavour to appease the Tumult.

A.C.

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Herodian
lib. 5 §. 22.Herodian
ubi supra.


§. 23. When the Guards saw that *Alexander* was alive and well, they opened the Gates of the Camp, and let him in with great Acclamations; whilst they scarce took any notice of *Elagabalus*. This Contempt the Emperor could not bear; but staying all

Ibid. §. 23.

E e

Night

A.C. Night in the Camp-Chappel, com-
222. manded that the Authors of the Muti-

 ny should be punished for their Rebel-
lion. But the Tempest was grown
too high for this miserable Prince to
aswage. For now *Mamaea*, who had often
been put in fear for her Son, appear-
ed openly in his behalf, and stirred
up the Soldiers to pursue their Blow.
Soaemias also did the like for her Son;
but she had no Interest, and by so do-
ing she onely hasten'd her own Destru-
ction: For the Army were resolv-
ed to rid the World of this Monster,
and so ran with great Fury after him,
intending to kill him wherever they
found him. They found him at last
with his Mother hanging about him, in
a sink of the Camp, whither he fled,
thinking to escape by some secret way.
But the passage being too narrow, he
was stopt, and the Soldiers immediate-
ly cut off his and his Mother's Head,
drag'd their Bodies thro the Streets,
and at last threw his headless Trunk
into the Common^a Shores that led into
the River with a Weight^b tied to it,
that it might never rise again, and be
buried. *Soaemias's*^c Body too was
thrown carelessly into a Place, where
it

Dio. p.
916. A.

^a Herod.
ubi supra.
^b Aur.
Vict. in
Epir.
^c Dion p.
916 B.

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it lay neglected. Thus died *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, commonly called *Elagabalus*, March 11. CCXXII. (q) after he had lived about^a XVIII Years, and reigned III Years^b, IX Months, and IV Days, according to the Accounts of *Dion Cassius*.

A. C.

222.

Die p.

^a 916. A &

^b 910. C.

§. 24. It is no hard matter now from the Account that has been given of the Life and Actions of this unhappy Prince, to find out the Reasons why the Army pulled him down with so much Fury, when they had been so faithful to *Caracalla*, and still preserved so great a Veneration for his Memory. *Caracalla* was cruel indeed, and barbarous to the rest of his Subjects, was perfidious and false to his Allies and Neighbours, but in the main he was kind to his Army, and laboured to enrich them. He was a Man of good Natural Parts, and judged rea-
things, and he looked upon himself to be secure as long as he kept his Army firm. Whereas this dissolute Youth minded nothing but gratifying his Lusts, and took no Care to oblige any one powerful Party of Men, who might think it their Interest to support him in his Extravagancies. And yet if what

Die p.

375. D.

A.C.

222.

W
Frag. Va-
lef. p.765.

Dio say's of him be true, that when he heard any Causes, he gave Manly Judgments upon what he heard, it is plain that he wanted no Understanding; which still renders his Conduct the more inexcusable in all other things. For his monstrous Practises contradicted even the Natural Light of Reason so directly, that let Men be otherwise never so corrupt, yet they abhor and detest those that commit such sort of Things. Nay, tho we should allow in defence of *Elagabalus* (*r*) that a great many of those Stories which are told of him, were made afterwards by some that thought thereby to flatter *Alexander*, yet still the joint Consent of all the Historians that give us any Account of his Life, leaves no room to doubt but that he was become the Horror of all Mankind, long before the Soldiers laid their Hands upon him. The Army therefore were asham'd to be governed by such a Creature, and would never have born with him so long, if young *Alexander* had not been so fully in view. They were willing this Prince should come to some Age, before they set aside his Kinsman, who
by

Antoninus Elagabalus.

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by his Rage and Jealousy toward him,
by a just Judgment of God called
down his own Destruction upon him-
self, several Years sooner in all proba-
bility than it would otherwise have
fallen upon him.

A. C.

222.



NOTES.

pag. 384.

(a) **V** *Aleſius* reads ὑπαρχο instead of ὑπαίτο. But I ſee no Reason for the Emendation. The ordinary Conſulat of *Macrinus* and *Adventus* was expired two Months before *Macrinus* died. After that, the Conſul *Suffectus* was the proper Magiſtrate to whom *Elagabalus* was of courſe to write, and his Name it ſeems was *Pollio*.

Ibid.

(b) *Dion's* words are theſe; τὰ ὑπομνήματα τὰ ὅσα τοῖς Στρατιώταις ῥηόμενα, τὰ τε γράμματα τοῦ *Μακρίνου* καὶ *Μαξίμου* γεγραντα, ἐπιμύσει μὲν καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ. I do not well comprehend what can be meant by the ὑπομνήματα ὅσα τοῖς στρατιώταις ῥηόμενα. The *Latin* Verſion printed by *Leunclavius*, renders it thus, *Acta rerum apud Milites tractarum*: i. e. Ὑπομνήματα τῶν ὅσα τοῖς στρατιώταις ῥηόμενα: whereas it ſhould have been rendered thus, *Acta apud milites confecta*. But then this does not in my Opinion expreſs *Dion's* ſenſe, who ſeems to have deſigned to ſay, Ὑπομνήματα ὅσα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ῥηόμενα. i. e. *Commentarios quos de militibus ſcripſit* [*Macrinus*]. *Memoires which Macrinus wrote concerning his Army*. This ſeems to be the trueſt reading. *Macrinus's* Complaints of his Army, his Endeavours to reduce them to their former Eſtabliſhments, and their Diſcontents thereupon, we have had at large already. It is natural therefore to believe that he might write ſome ſhort Notes or *Memoir's* concerning them, which are what the *Greeks* call Ὑπομνήματα; and it is equally probable that *Elagabalus* would communicate theſe to the Soldiers aſſoon as he diſcover'd them.

pag. 388.

(c) The Fragment of *Dion* which mentions that Murder committed upon his Friend by *Elagabalus*, names him not: But it cannot well be underſtood of any

any body but *Gannys*. He and *Comazon* were the two great Managers of *Elagabalus's* Affairs during this Revolution. (*Dio. p. 905. C.*) *Gannys* is named and applauded by *Dion*, for his Conduct in that Battle wherein *Macrinus* was overthrown. (*p. 905. A.*) And his good Services in that Action are here likewise enumerated as an Aggravation of the Ingratitude of *Elagabalus*. But after this Year CCXVIII, we hear no more of him; whereas *Comazon* kept in Power all his Master's Reign, during which he was Consul in CCXX, one of the Captains of the Guards, and twice Præfect of the City upon Vacancy's. *Dio. p. 908. A*

(d) The ancient *Fasti* name *Antoninus* and *Adventus* Consuls for the Year CCXVIII. So *Cassiodore's Fasti*, and several others. *Scaliger* not attending to this, has put *Diadumenianus* instead of *Antoninus* in his *Laterculus Consulum*, in *Eusebius's Chronicon*, and from him *Calvisius*. But as it appears from this Passage in *Dio*, the *Antoninus* in the Ancient *Fasti* is *Elagabalus*; for *Diadumenianus* was never Consul Ordinarius. In *Theon's Fasti* it is *Oclatianus* & *Adventus*. *Oclatianus* by a strange Corruption in the Reading is put for *Opellus*, which was the Family Name of *Macrinus*. Pag. 391.

(e) It was no Commendation to *Elagabalus* to be bountiful in his Liberality's. *Mediobarbus* produces a Medal in the Year 222, as belonging to *Elagabalus*, with ANTONINUS PIUS AUG. and on the Reverse, LIBERALITAS AUG. VI. upon it. He say's he had it from *Monf. Fascinus* of *Basil*, who is commended for his Skill in this sort of Learning by *Monf. Patin* and other good Judges. If this be genuine, and truly belongs to *Elagabalus*, and not to *Caracalla*, (which I believe it does) then here are Three Liberality's of *Elagabalus*, more than his common Medals give an Account of. *Monf. Vaillant* mentions but Three Liberality's of this young vain-glorious Prince, and those may be easily made out by History; the two first, at his coming to *Rome*, and at his marrying *Julia Paula*, are mention'd by ^a*Dio* and ^b*Herodian*, and then the third was given when he adopted *Alexander*. But if this Medal really belongs to *Elagabalus*, then I would reckon these Liberality's thus. 1. When Page 392.

he came to Rome. 2. When he married *Julia Paula*. 3. When he married *Julia Aquilia Severa*. 4. When he married *Annia Faustina*. 5. When he adopted *Alexander*. 6. When he took *Aquilia Severa* again. But since *Mediobarbus* has not given us the Coin it self, we cannot make a judgment concerning it. No Antiquaries of our Age are more skilful in understanding and distinguishing of Medals, than *Monf. Vaillant* and *Monf. Morelli*. Both these ingenuously own, that it is not alway's easy to determine which Medals belong to *Caracalla*, and which to *Elagabalus*. *Nummi Elagabali, ut distinguantur ab iis qui ad Caracallam spectant, in aera astrum seu stellam habere debent, eadem enim utriusque Capitis Epigraphæ.* *Vaillanti Numism. Impp. Præst. part. i. pag. 136. In horum ambarum [Caracalla nempe & Elagabali] nummis Antiquarii sæpius hærent, incerti utri horum unus alterve tribui debeat nummus.* *Morellii Spec. Rei Nummariæ, pag. 36. Edit. Lips.* So that I rather think that this Coin of *Monf. Faschius's* belongs to *Caracalla*; and then it is easily explained. For *Caracalla* distributed his VIth Liberality when his Brother *Geta* gave his Vth, just upon their coming to Rome after their Father's death, in the Year CCXI.

Page 394.

(f) So *Herodian* Ἀμα ἦν ἐξάπυλον. Pursuant to which, *Occo* produces one Coin, inscribed SANCTO DEO SOLI ELAGAB. round a Chariot drawn by Six Horses, carrying *Elagabal*, with *Genius's* playing round that Conical Deiry. But no other Medal is produced with any more than Four Horses; and of them there are great Plenty, and great variety in *Occo*, *Mediobarbus*, and *Vaillant*, drawing *Elagabal's* Chariot with onely himself in it, all plainly alluding to this Festival described by *Herodian*. This has made me suspect that *Herodian* was mistaken, and that there were but Four Horses in that Chariot instead of Six, and consequently that this Coin is spurious, and made to suit with this very Passage in *Herodian*.

Page 396.

(g) The true Name of this Stone-Idol being *Elagabal*, I always call it so, and the Emperor *Elagabalus*, to distinguish the one from the other.

(b) Di-

(b) *Dicebat praeterea, Judaeorum & Samaritanorum Religiones, & Christianam Devotionem illuc transferendam, ut omnium culturarum secretum Heliogabali Sacerdotium teneret.* Lamprid. in *Heliogabalo*, cap. 3. Page 396.

(i) Medals of *Soemias* are found with VENUS CAELESTIS upon them. These were in Honour of *Urania* or *Astarte*, whom the Romans always called the *Heavenly Goddess*. When *Elagabalus* had the Ensigns of the *Husband-God* upon his Medals, it was proper that *Soemias*, a Mother worthy of such a Son, should have the Image of the *Wife-Goddess* upon her Medals. Page 398.

(k) *Herodian* calls her 'Αστροδία. (lib. 5. §. 15.) *Ibid.* There is no question but this is a corrupt Reading either of the Authors or the Transcribers, for *Astarte*, as *Selden* and *Bechart* have long since observed.

(l) Every *Aureus* went for 25 *Denarii* or *Drachmes*, and so was worth about 15 s. 7½ d. of our Money. A Thousand *Aurei* therefore came to 781 l. 5 s. by that Calculation. Page 402.

(m) Thus she is named in a Noble Medaglion produced by *Monf. Vaillant* in his Collection of the Medaglions of *Monf. de Camps*. (pag. 77.) IOTAIA KOPNH: ΠΑ - - - - ATT. KAICAP ANTΩNEI-NOC. ATT. It is coined by the *Perinthians*, to whom *Elagabalus* gave the Title of *Twice Neocorae*, for their Affection to him, whom they supposed to have been the Son of *Caracalla*. In the Wars between *Severus* and *Niger*, when *Byzantium* took part with the latter, *Perinthus* was true to *Severus*: For which Kindness, when *Severus* took away the Metropolitcal Privileges from the *Byzantines*, he gave them to the *Perinthians*, and made them *Neocorae* of the Emperor. These Favours engaged the *Perinthians* very fast to his Family, and induced them to appear for *Elagabalus* early, before the Controversy between him and *Macrinus* was fully settled. For *Perinthus*, which was made a Metropolis upon the Ruins of *Byzantium*, was its constant Rival, and therefore took the contrary side in all public Divisions. *Herodian* says that *Macrinus* made for *Byzantium* when he was driven back to *Chalcedon*. That City therefore he was sure of, which could not love *Ibid.* Lib. 5. § 9.

love Severus's Family, so long as it remembered the Misery's it formerly suffer'd by his means.

Page 410.

(n) *Mediobarbus* produces a Medal out of *Severinus*, with M AUR. ALEXANDER CAES. on one side, and INDULGENTIAE AUG. S.C. on the Reverse. The AUGustus there is *Elagabalus*, and his Indulgence, was the Adoption of this Young Prince.

Page 413.

(o) He whom I call *Eutychianus* here is *Antiochianus* in *Lampridius*. But I make no doubt but the Reading is false, tho it is very ancient, being in all the Editions that I have seen of *Lampridius*, most taken from distinct MSS. Perhaps the Mistake is *Lampridius*'s own; for he no where else names *Eutychianus Comazon*, whom *Dion* speaks so much of. The change of *Eutychianus* into *Antiochianus*, is very easy, and we hear of this *Antiochianus* no where else. Any other Officer of *Elagabalus*'s Promotion would hardly have had so much Credit with the Army as this Man, who was known to be true to the whole Family, and had from the first been one of their chief Agents. *Hierocles*, *Zoticus*, and *Gordus*, who were mark'd out for Ruine by the Soldiers, because of their assisting *Elagabalus* in his Lusts, were Men of a much lower Character than this *Eutychianus*. And that which farther confirms my Conjecture, is, that *Eutychianus* was made *Præfect* of the City in *Fulvius*'s room upon *Elagabalus*'s Death, when *Fulvius* follow'd his Master's Fate.

Dio. p.
916. C.

Page 415.

(p) *Lampridius*'s words are these, *Deinde in Capitolium ad vota concipienda, & perficienda solennia ire noluit: omnia per Præfectum Urbanum facta sunt, quasi Consules illic non essent.* in *Heliogab. cap. 15.* Hence it appears that the *Præfect* of the City was the chiefest Civil Magistrate under the Emperors, next to the Consuls, in the City. *Dion* also say's the same thing in his Account, of *Adventus*, p. 894. C. D. E. He say's that *Adventus* rose by the Favor of Emperors to be of the Bedchamber, Procurator, Captain of the Guards, Senator, Consul, and *Præfect* of the City. The Captains of the Guards were not Senators, till *Severus Alexander*. *Maximinus* advanced *Adventus* to be rid of him: From Senator he made him Consul, and then *Præfect* of the City, which, as *Dion* expressly calls it, was to

μὴν.

μέγιστον τὴν γρηγορίας ἀξίωμα, the chiefest Dignity in the Senate.

(q) The Time of the Death of *Elagabalus*, according as *Dion* sets it, may thus be found out. *Macrinus* assumed the Empire April 11, CCXVII. the fourth day after *Caracalla's* Death. He reigned XIV Months within three Day's. Then *Elagabalus's* Reign began June 6th, or rather 7th, CCXVIII. Now *Dion* is positive that *Elagabalus* reigned just III Years, IX Months, and IV Day's, (p. 910. C.) he died therefore March 11. CCXXII. But on the other hand, *Osco* and *Mediebarbus* produce several Medals that can only belong to *Elagabalus*, with TR. POT. V. and *Vallens* mentions another with L. E. of *Elagabalus*, which signify's the same thing. (*Præst. Imp. Numis. Part. 2. pag. 286.*) There is no room to question the Sincerity of the reading in *Dion*, because his Abridgers *Xiphilin* and *Zonaras* agree in the same Reading with the *Excerpta* of *Dio*, published by *Ursinus*: And one would wonder how *Dion*, who is scrupulously exact in assigning the time how long every Emperor reigned, could possibly be mistaken in the time of the Reign of *Elagabalus*. Yet on the other side, the Coins (which can bear no other Interpretation) are so positive, that if they be genuine, *Elagabalus* lived longer than June 7. CCXXII. perhaps till September following, when *Mediebarbus* assigns the time of his Death.

(r) *Sed & hæc & nonnulla alia fidem transmittia, credo esse ficta ab iis qui in gratiam Alexandri Heliogabalum deformare voluerunt. Lamprid. in Heliog. cap. 30.* So *Isaac Casaubon* reads the place; the printed Copies have it, *Sed & hæc nonnulla fidem, &c.*

T H E
L I F E
O F

*M. Aurelius Severus
Alexander.*

C H A P. I.

*Of Alexander's Education, Accession
to the Empire, Method of Governing,
and the Regulations which he made
in the Administration of Affairs
after the Death of Elagabalus.*

S. I. **M** *Aurelius Severus Alexan-* A.C.
der was born at Arcae, a 206.
City in Phoenicia, in the
 Year CCVI (4). His Father ^a *Genesius* ^a Dio. p.
Marcianus, the Son of one ^b *Alexianus,* 887. E.
 Ori- ^b Herod.
 lib. 5. § 17.

A.C.

206.



^c Lamp. in
Alex. c. 44.

^d Dio. p.

914. E.

^e Lib. 5.

§. 17.

Ulpian in
Digest. lib.

1. Tit. 9.

§. 12.

originally descended from the old Roman^c *Metelli*, who made so great a figure in the History of their Commonwealth, and his Mother *Mamaea* were both *Syrians*. He seems in his Infancy to have taken both his Grandfathers Names; for *Dion*^d calls him *Bassianus*, and *Herodian*^e *Alexianus*. His Father had Consular Honours given him by *Severus*; but what Offices he had, or how well he could have executed any Offices, we know not. *Alexander* was very young when his Father died, and his Mother took a second Husband, a Man of Inferior Quality in her Kinsman *Caracalla*'s time, who by a particular *Rescript* order'd that she should not lose her Precedence as a Consular Man's Wife, tho she was now married beneath her self. *Mamaea*'s second Husband seems to have died before the Year CCXVIII, because we find no mention then of any Husband of *Maesa*'s, or of either of her Daughters.

§. 2. But tho *Alexander*'s Father died so early, that he could not look after his Son's Education, yet his Loss was abundantly made up, by the Care which his Mother *Mamaea* took of him in his Infancy. She knew the State of her Family

Severus Alexander.

431

Family well. She could very early see, that when once old *Severus* was dead, his Sons would break to pieces, and destroy one another. Her Aunt and her Mother were great Intriguers, and would leave no Stone unturned to keep the Empire in their Family as long as they could. All these things gave her no improbable Prospect for her Son. She resolved therefore to educate him suitably to those Hopes, which were without doubt very early entertained. And accordingly he had Tutors appointed him in all parts of Learning, whose Names are still preserved by *Lampridius*.

A.C.

206,

Gr.



S. 3. In *Syria* he was instructed in the first Rudiments of Learning, by *Valerius Cordus*, *T. Veturius*, and *Aurelius Philippus* his Father's Freed-man, who afterwards wrote his Life. Besides these, one *Neon* taught him the *Greek Language*, *Serapion Rhetoric*, and *Stilpo Philosophy*. Either these Men were more skilful in their Profession, or took more pains with their Pupil, or coming first, they found *Alexander* more susceptible of their Instructions, than those who afterwards read to him in the *Roman Learning*; for tho the

Lamp. in
Alex. c. 3.

Younger

A.C. *Younger Scaurinus*, a very eminent Gram-
206, *marian, Julius Frontinus, Baebius Ma-*
&c. *crianus and Julius Granianus*, three ce-
 ~~~~~ lebrated Rhetoricians all taught him at  
*Rome*, yet he never spoke *Latin* well,  
 nor comparatively speaking ever cared  
**Lamp. ib.** so much for the *Roman* Eloquence, as  
**& cap. 27.** he did for the *Greek*. This however  
 proceeded not from the Negligence of  
 his Teachers or their Scholar; for not  
 a day past, wherein he did not do  
**Id. cap. 3.** something either in Letters, or Milita-  
 ry Exercises, for which he had Masters  
 on purpose. With all this he had ad-  
 mirable Parts, and was very diligent.

**S. 4.** But his greatest and best Teach-  
 er was his Mother *Mamaea*, who took  
 indefatigable pains in his Education,  
 and was well requited, in the Respect  
 and Duty which he alway's paid her to  
 the day of his Death. Tho the Do-  
 mestic Examples she had been used to  
 were far from being extraordinary, yet  
 she kept her self uncorrupted in the  
 midst of so much Impurity, and took  
 strict care to keep her Son so too. She  
 was not only virtuous according to  
 Heathen Notions of Virtue and Good-  
 ness, but her Aims were infinitely higher;  
 and that Purity which JESUS CHRIST  
 teaches

teaches us in his Gospel, she had still in view. It is not certain that she was baptized, but it is certain that *Origen* instructed her in the Christian Faith at *Antioch*, whom she sent for from *Alexandria*, where he was then a *Catechist*, with a Guard on purpose to do him the greater Honor. It is probable she was onely a *Catechumen*, till she had seen *Origen*, which was not till she went with her Son to *Antioch* (*b*), upon the Account of the *Persian War*: After that, it is likely she might be baptized, because her Piety is so highly commended by *Eusebius*, who was a Christian Bishop: But *Alexander* then had taken his bent, and he might think it dishonorable to receive a Religion, of the Truth of which it pleased God to let him still be ignorant. For it is certain that he never profest Christianity, but on the contrary was a zealous Hea-then.

§. 5. But if *Alexander* did not believe in JESUS CHRIST as a Savior, yet he revered him as a Law-giver, whose Institutions outdid all those of the Gentile Philosophers. And this at least, he learnt from his Mother. That Command on which hang all the

A.C.

206,

Ec.



Lamp. in  
Alex. cap.  
51.

Id. ibid.

cap. 29.

Cap. 45.

Law and the Prophets, DO NOT TO ANOTHER WHAT THOU WOULDST NOT THAT ANOTHER SHOULD DO UNTO THEE, *Alexander* was so fond of, that when he punished any Man for Acts of Injustice, the Crier was commanded publicly to pronounce it in the Court; and that it might be yet the more taken notice of, he order'd it to be inscribed upon his Palace and his public Works. When his Armies were upon a March, if any Man of Quality trespass upon another Man's Ground; and Complaint was made of the Damage to the Emperor, he would severely reprimand him, and putting him in mind of the Christians Maxim, would ask him, *If he would willingly have been so served?* He had the Images of *Abraham* and JESUS CHRIST (c) in his Closet, where when he was alone he performed his daily Devotions. He once had thoughts of erecting a Temple to JESUS CHRIST, and receiving him into the List of his Gods; but his Soothsayers hindred him with a Reason, which coming out of a Gentile Writer's Mouth, is a Noble Character of the Christian Faith, 'That if the Christi-  
'ans



'ans. were ever publicly allow'd to have  
 'Temples of their own, the Tem-  
 'ples of their [false] Deity's would  
 'be forsaken, and the Empire would  
 'soon embrace Christianity. Yet  
 tho this hindred him from build-  
 ing Churches to the Honor of *Jesus*  
*Christ*, he was not willing that any al-  
 ready built should be pulled down.  
 For when the *Company of Victuallers* (d)  
 complained that the Christians had  
 built a Church upon a piece of wast-  
 ground, which they would have had  
 for themselves, he denied their Petiti-  
 on, saying that it was better God  
 should be worshipped there after any  
 sort, than that the Ground should be  
 given to *Victuallers*. The greatest part  
 of his Family were converted, and the  
 Christians enjoy'd perfect Tranquillity  
 during his Reign.

A.C.

222.

Et.

Cap. 49.

Encl. H. E.  
lib. 6. c. 48.

§. 6. It was no wonder therefore,  
 that this Prince, well inclined of him-  
 self, and thus educated, proved to be  
 one of the best and wisest Governors,  
 that not *Rome* alone, but any Nation  
 was ever blest with. *Justice* and *Mercy*  
 are the two principal Virtues of a  
 Prince, which he was early taught the  
 use of; and his whole Government

F f z

shew'd

A.C.  
206,  
E.C.



shew'd that he never suffer'd them to interfere with one another. No other Religion, no Body of Humane Laws teach these Virtues to perfection; the Christian Religion only sets them forth in their true Lustre; and he that learns them from thence, will certainly know how to practise them, when any occasion presents itself.

A.C.  
221.



Herodian  
lib 5. §§.  
18, & 21.

A.C.  
222.



§. 7. *Alexander* thus instructed in his Cousin *Elagabalus's* time, and living in his Court, in the face of the Empire, soon became the Darling of Mankind. The Army, the Senate, and the People, weary of that Emperor's brutish Government, unanimously cast their Eyes upon this young Prince, who had the same relation to the Family of *Severus*. He was about XV, when the Soldiers forced their Emperor to adopt him in the Year 221. They preserved him afterwards when he was made *ae-sar*; and *Mamaea* kept off her Nephew's Companions and Assassins from her Son, who were both equally to be feared; and at last, tho with no little difficulty, he came to the Empire when he was something above XVI, in the Year CCXXII. Upon the first day of his Inauguration he was declared *Augustus*,  
and

and the Senate gave him the *Tribunitial* and *Proconsular Power*, with the *Jus Quintae Relationis*, besides the Title of *Father of his Countrey*. These he took all at once, tho it was contrary to former Customs, because it was thought necessary that he should want no Branch of the Imperial Authority to enable him to set things right, which were so monstrously out of order before. Besides, it would have been a Reproach to the Senate, not to have given *Alexander* at least as much as *Elagabalus* at his first coming to the Empire arrogated to himself.

A.C.

222.

Lamp. in  
Alex.

cap. 1.

§. 8. The first thing to be done, was to send back all the Foreign Images that had been brought to *Rome*, to their respective Cities and Temples; then he removed all those impure Ministers of *Elagabalus*, who had crept into all Places, and were possess of most Employments. A very strict Inquisition was made, and the guilty were turned out of all their Offices, especially Magistrates. He cleared likewise the *Senate*, and the *Equestrian Order*, and examined the *People*, the *Army*, and the *Court* most particularly, in order to send away those infamous Persons, who in

Herodian  
lib.6. §.2.

Lamp in  
Alex.  
cap. 15.

A.C.

222.

Cap. 34.

Herod.

Herodian  
lib. 6. c. 1.

the late Reign had swarmed in Rome Those Eunuchs whom *Elagabalus* kept for abominable Uses, were distributed amongst *Alexander's* Friends as Slaves, with a particular Command to kill them without the Formality of a Trial, if they misbehaved themselves. His *Dwarfs* of both Sexes, *Eunuchs* for singing, and *Buffoons*, with all those *Songsters* and *Pantomimes* that were kept to make the Emperor sport, were now given to the People; those that were useless were dispersed into several Cities to be maintained, that they might not as Vagrants gather too many together in any one place, and become burthensome to the Inhabitants. An incredible number of lewd Women that belonged to the Palace were sold, and the Money that was raised was applied to the uses of the Public: The *Catamites* also of the Court were all transported, some of whom were shipwrackt in their Voiage. In the making of this Scrutiny, and indeed in all public Business, *Alexander* follow'd the Advice of a Committee of XVI Senators, whom *Maesa* and *Mamaea* chose out of the Senate, for the Severity of their Manners, and their Experience in Business,

business, to be constantly about their Son. These XVI who were chiefly under the direction of *Domitius Ulpianus*, were a standing Counsel to this young Emperor; and they soon introduced a face of Order and good Government over the whole Empire, by their vigilance and industry.

A.C.

222,

&c.

Dion p.  
917. A.

S. 9. *Ulpian*, Alexander's chief Minister for the first Year's of his Reign, originally a *Tyrian*, was by Profession a Lawyer, and one of the greatest Men of that Age, or perhaps of any other Age, in that Profession. *Papinian* chose him to be Assessor with him, when he was made *Captain of the Guards* by *Severus*. That recommended him now to the same Employment under *Alexander*. For that being a mixt Office, and those Causes that were immediately under the Emperor's Cognizance being for the most part try'd before the *Captains of the Guards*, it was thought necessary that one of them at least, (for since the time of *Commodus* there were generally more than one) should be eminently skilful in the Law's. When therefore *Mamea* put *Flavianus* and *Chestus*, both Men bred up to the Sword, and both eminent in their Profession, into that

Digest.lib.

50. Tit.

15. S. 1.

Lamp. in

Alex.

cap. 16.

Z. sim. lib.

1. pag. 12.

A.C. Office, *Ulpian* was joined in Commis-  
 222, on to overlook them, and to execute  
 Ec. the Judicial part of that Employment.

~~~~~  
 Lamp in
 Alex.
 cap 51.

Dio p.
 917. C.

Lamp. in
 Alex.
 c pp. 31,
 67.

'Tis said indeed that at first *Mamea* op-
 posed his Advancement, but when she
 saw his Worth, she stood by him faith-
 fully; and many of those excellent Re-
 formations which were wrought at first
 by *Alexander*, are attributed to his
 Wisdom and Conduct. *Alexander* re-
 posed so great a confidence in *Ulpian*,
 that he daily would advise with him
 alone, which he durst not do with any
 body else, when he found that an ill use
 had been made of his Familiarity with
 other Men. That he might have a
 better pretence for this Freedom, he
 made *Ulpian* his principal Secretary of
 State (e). *Ulpian's* Zeal for Reforma-
 tion, especially of the Guards, was so
 great, that it raised such a Storm against
 him, as sunk him at last. The first that
 attempted any thing against him, were
 his two Collegues, *Flavianus* and *Chre-*
stus, who laid a design to murder him
 secretly (f). But that coming to the
 Empresses Ears, she caused them to be
 put to death, and then declared *Ulpian*
Sole Captain of the Guards. This Of-
 fice he seems to have enjoy'd but a lit-

tle

the while, tho it is uncertain how long. *Dion* mentions a Quarrel between the Guards and the People of *Rome* upon his Account, after he was sole *Praefect*; what caused it, he does not say, onely intimates that the Reason of its beginning was inconsiderable. He say's it lasted Three Days; that many were killed on both sides; and that the Guards being too weak, set some of the Citizens Houses on Fire, which obliged them to come to an Agreement, least the whole City should have been consumed. The People, 'tis probable, revered *Ulpian*, because he kept the Soldiers in Order, and they on the other hand hated him for that very Reason; and whilst the one side applauded him whom the other side were angry with, one may easily imagine this would breed ill blood. At last the Guards set upon him in his Quarters in the Night, and tho he ran to the Palace for shelter, yet their Rage was so great that they killed him (g) in the Emperor's and his Mother's presence. It was thought fit to pass over this horrible Attempt at that time; onely one *Epagathus* the chief Author of the Conspiracy against *Ulpian*, was sent out of the

A.C.

222,

Ec.

Dion p.
917. D.

Id. ib.

A.C.

228.

A.C. the way, first into *Aegypt*, to govern
 222, that Province, and then into *Crete*,
 &c. where he was executed. *Ulpian* wrote
 many excellent Books upon several
 Subjects in the *Law*, out of which
 there are noble *Excerpta* still preserved
 in the *Digests*.

In Alex.
 cap. 68.

S. 10. *Alexander* employ'd several
 other great Men in that Profession to
 make new Law's, and to put the old
 ones in execution, besides this *Ulpian*.
 Some of these *Lampridius* mentions,
 upon whom he bestow's extraordinary
 Characters. *Fabius Sabinus*, whom he
 calls the *Cato* of his time. *Antonius*
Gordianus Junior, afterwards Emperor.
Julius Paulus Assessor with *Ulpian* to
Papinian: Him *Alexander* made Cap-
 tain of his Guards after *Ulpian's* Death:
 His Writings also are frequently quoted
 in the *Digests*. *Catilius Severus*, who
 was related to the Emperor, a Descen-
 dant probably of that *Catilius Severus*
 who was the Emperor *Marcus's* Grand-
 father by the Mother's side. *Aelius Se-*
renianus, a Man of great Purity of Man-
 ners, and *Quintilius Marcellus*, whom
Alexander made Consul in the Year
 CCXXVI together with himself, than
 whom, say's *Lampridius*, there never
 was

was a better Man in History. These were some of the Counsellors of this good Emperor, without whom, or some of them at least, he rarely did any Business.

A.C.

222,

Ec.

§. II. In *mixt Governments*, where Kings are supposed to do nothing without the Advice of their *Privy-Council*, and where Ministers are often called to Account by the States of a Kingdom for the Advice they give, it will scarce be thought a Commendation in *Alexander*, that he, a Youth of XVI, should leave all Business to a *Committee* of Wise Men, since it will hardly be imagined how he could have done otherwise. But in Absolute Elective Monarchies, such as the *Roman Empire* was in *Alexander's* time, the Case is different. The Prince in possession was bound by no Law, ty'd to no Rule, his Will, and that onely, was his Guide. If a Boy was declared *Augustus*, it was enough, his Age was never regarded, as long as he could get people to obey him, he kept the Saddle. This was evident in *Elagabalus*, who tho he was but XIV when he pulled down *Macrinus*, found Flatterers, who by soothing him in his Follies were put into a capa-

A.C. capacity of doing infinite Mischiefs.

222,

Ec.



The good Actions therefore which were done by *Alexander's* Ministers in his Youth, ought in justice to be ascribed to him: And those things which would not enter into a limited Prince's Character, do truly make up a part of his deserved Panegyric. Such indeed, rather than a History, the greatest part of what is related of him by the Ancients, will seem to be. But if several things hereafter mentioned concerning him, shall look odd and little at this distance, allowance must be made for difference of Customs in different Ages and different Nations. And again, if on the other hand it shall be thought incredible that so many Excellency's should all dwell in the same Man, who after a Reign of XIII Years was not XXX Years old when he was killed, let us not measure every thing by what we our selves have seen; but since even those who have labor'd to lessen the Reputation of *Alexander's* Reign, have yet spoken extreamly well of his Person, we ought in justice to suppose that his Friends have spoken the Truth of him likewise, where we cannot at this distance of time disprove them. The

Chro-

Chronological Order in which most of his Actions were done, for the first Ten Years of his Reign, cannot possibly be now retrieved. *Lampridius*, who wrote his Life with more care (*b*) than any of those other small Lives of the Emperors in the *Historia Augusta*, from *Trajan* down to *Alexander*, uses a way of writing which leads us into the Reasons of nothing that he sets down, because he follows no Time, nor pursues any Method. His Life of *Alexander* is a Heap of Facts thrown together out of the several Historians who wrote that Prince's Life, without any Connection. *Herodian* goes directly to the War against *Artaxerxes*, as soon as he has hinted at the Regulations that were immediately made upon *Elagabalus's* death. And to our great Misfortune here *Dion Cassius*, who was one of *Alexander's* chiefest Counsellors, ends his History. And there is very little concerning *Alexander* that can be depended upon in Antiquity, that is not taken out of *Herodian* or *Lampridius*. If therefore the Account that I am now to give of the Reign of this great and good Emperor be not so clear as might be wished, it will I hope be

A.C.

222,

E.C.

A.C. be excused by equitable and candid
222, Judges.

Ec.

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Herodian
lib. 6. §. 2.

Lamp. in
Alex.
cap. 16.

Lamprid.
ib. supra.

§. 12. The XVI Senators whom *Mamæa* appointed as a standing Counsel for her Son, were not the only Persons whom upon occasion he advised with. If matters of Law, or of the Civil Government were before the Board, they were the proper Persons to be rely'd on ; but for Military matters, he had a distinct Counsel of War, and would do nothing in the Army without their Advice. His Law's, which were very numerous, great numbers of which are still preserved in *Justinian's Code*, were alway's made with great deliberation. Every Law went thro the hands of LXX Men, XX of whom were profess Lawyers, who were all to give their Opinions severally, which were taken in writing, and they had time given them before they delivered their Opinions, that no man might be necessitated to say any thing in hast. By this means the *Emperor's Rescripts* were drawn up with as much Solemnity at least, and probably with more Care than the *Acts of the Senate*, which were of no Validity without the Suffrage of LXX Senators.

§. 13.

§. 13. This Care *Alexander* took that the People might not be oppressed by new Law's: He took equal care that the Magistrates should execute the old ones uprightly. Whatsoever Benefactions he made in other matters, he never gave any Office that related to the Administration of Justice, for Favor or Affection. He either personally knew the Man whom he preferred, or else he follow'd the Recommendation of the Senate. Selling of Places of Justice he perfectly abhorred. Upon those occasions he would frequently have such Sentences in his Mouth as these:
 ' He that buy's must sell. I will never
 ' bear with those that buy their Offices;
 ' whom, if they make themselves whole
 ' again by their Employments, how can
 ' I blame? I blush to punish a Man who
 ' sells what he has bought.' When he sent any Governors, or Collectors of Public Duties into any Provinces, he first caused sufficient notice to be given, that if the Persons nominated could be convicted of any Crime, they might not be sent; and then if their Characters proved faulty, they were certainly put by. The Reason which he gave for this Scrutiny was admirable;

A.C.

222,

Ec.

Id. cap. 46.

Id. cap. 49

- A.C. ble ; ' The Christians (say's he) ne-
 222, ' ver ordain any Man a Priest, till they
 Ec. ' have made a thorough-Enquiry into
 ~~~~~ ' his Life and Conversation ; and shall  
 Id. cap.45. ' I commit the Lives and Fortunes of  
 ' my People to Men whose Integrity  
 ' has not been try'd already and appro-  
 ' ved ? ' But then that these Candidates  
 might not lie at the mercy of every  
 Sycophant , he obliged the Accusers  
 in those Cases to prove their Accusati-  
 ons on pain of their Heads ; which  
 was no Terror to those who knew they  
 could make good their Assertions, be-  
 Id. cap.29. cause *Alexander* heard all people with  
 wonderful patience, and never suffer'd  
 any Man to be frightened from doing  
 any part of his Duty ; but always  
 with an equal Countenance heard eve-  
 Id. cap.46. ry Man what he had to say. He never  
 loved a Collector of the Public Reve-  
 nues, wishing rather that he could have  
 been without those *necessary Evils*, as  
 he himself used to call them. He re-  
 moved them every Year , that they  
 might not grind the People, and pro-  
 bably also, that they might not cheat  
 the Prince. He revived an Ancient  
 Custom which was used in the times  
 Id cap 42. of the *Common-Wealth*, that the Officers  
 of

of Justice that were sent into the Provinces, should receive their Allowance and Necessary's for themselves and Families, even to their very wearing Clothes, out of the public Stores, under an obligation to return all those things *in specie* to the Keepers of the Stores, which were not supposed to perish in the using, when their Office was expired. Thus when they gave up their Accounts, they returned the Horses, Mules, and Slaves which they received. If they had done their Duty, what they gave back was restored to them again: if not, they were amerced four times as much, besides their being liable to be punished by those severe Law's against Extortion and Bribery; which were then in force.

§. 14. Nothing was this Emperors Aversion so much, as for a public Officer to oppress the People. When a Man had once been convicted of that Crime, *Alexander* would never suffer him to do any Acts of Judicature in any City of the Empire: If he did, the Governor of the Province was ordered to send him into banishment. *Encolpius* (i) one of the Historians that wrote his Life, who was very familiarly acquainted

A. G.

222,

Ec. 1

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d. cap. 15.

Id cap. 17.

A.C.

222,

E.C.



Septimius.

Id. cap. 18.

Id. cap. 17.

ed with him, say's, that if *Alexander* had seen at any time one that had been convicted of Extortion, he would hold up his Finger at him as if he would bore out his Eyes. And another Historian say's, That if he did but see one that was suspected of robbing the People, tho it was not proved, he would redden with Rage, and be in so great an Emotion, that he would vomit Choler, and his Speech would falter, till the Person was withdrawn. For which Reason he made it highly penal for any Man to come into his presence, who was conscious to himself that his Character was not clear in that particular; and then the same Proclamation was made by a public Crier, as was usually made at the Celebration of the *Eleusian* Mysteries, *Let no man come hither, who does not know himself to be innocent.* This was probably occasioned by his seeing of one *Septimius Arabinus* one day accidentally in his presence. This *Arabinus* had been guilty of great Acts of Oppression, or (as *Alexander's* Historians express it) of *Theft*, for which he had been acquitted by *Elagabalus*. We may suppose that Sentences given in the late Reign for Actions past, were
 safe

suffer'd to stand in this, and consequently that *Arabinus* was not question'd agen under *Alexander*, for what he had been once acquitted by *Elagabalus*. However, it was expected that he should keep his distance now, for his Character was infamous, tho his Person was safe. When *Alexander* therefore saw him once occasionally in the Presence among some other Persons that came to salute him, he could not forbear crying out, O Marnas (*k*), O Jupiter, *do's Arabinus live still? and not onely so, but does he come into the Senate again? What! has he any hopes of me? do's he take me to be stupid? do's he think I am a Fool?*

S. 15. Another time a Man of Quality who had formerly been convicted of Corruption in a Civil Employment, Id. cap. 28. endeavoured to procure a *Military* one, and used the Interest of some Forreign Princes then in *Alexander's* Court. The Emperor, who had an ill opinion of the Man, gratify'd the Princes however, and gave him the Place at their desire. Soon after he was agen convicted of Extortion, and his Patrons were present at his Trial. The Allegations being proved, *Alexander* asked the Prin-

A.C. ces how Crimes of that Nature were
222, punished in their Countrey; and when
Ec. Answer was made that the Offenders
 were crucified, he immediately com-
 manded this Man to be crucified, and
 saved the Reputation of his own Cle-
 mency, by executing the Sentence only
 which the Criminal's own Friends had
 past upon him.

S. 16. *Alexander* was not more se-
 vere towards corrupt Officers of Ju-
 stice, than he was kind to the Upright.
 He solemnly thanked every Man in the
 Name of the Commonwealth, that had
Id. cap. 32 left his Office with Reputation, for ha-
 ving honestly discharged his Duty.
 When a Governor of a Province, who
 had behaved himself well, was return-
 ed home, he would take him in his
 Chariot when he went abroad in pub-
Id. cap. 22. lic, that the People might see how
 much he honor'd a faithful Magistrate.
 He would reward also such Men be-
 sides, seldom indeed with Money, which
 he reserved for his Soldiers, but with
Id. cap. 32. Materials and Workmen to build them
 Houses in the Countrey, and with Cat-
 tle and Corn to stock their Farms (*l*).
 He would do the same likewise to any
 Senators that were fallen to decay, if
 their

their Poverty was not occasioned by their own faults. And least he might give to any man oftener than he intended, he kept exact Accounts of all his Benefactions; and then if those to whom he believ'd he ought to have given, asked nothing, he would put them in mind of it, and would expostulate with them why in so long time they had begged nothing of him.

A.C.

222,

Ec.

Id. cap 46.

§. 17. He seldom condemned any man, and never without manifest Cause; but then he never pardon'd him that was once condemned. In all the XIII Years of his Reign he never put any Man to death, that was not fairly tried by the Law's of the Empire. *Lampridius* thinks he was called *Severus*, from the *Severity* of his Administration, but he is mistaken; for his Medals which were struck upon the Death of *Elagabalus* (*m*), call him *Severus* in honor of *Septimius Severus*, who first raised his Mother's Family. He heard Causes often himself, especially at first, his Mother thinking that would be a proper Employment to keep him out of Idleness and bad Company, and to enure him early to business. And it was observed, that he never shew'd any weariness

Id. cap 21.

Herodian
lib. 6. §. 3.In Alex.
cap. 12.Herodian
lib. 6 § 3.Lamp. in
Alex. c. 29.

A.C. S. 19. ^a He took the *Consulat* but
 222, *thrice*, to make way for others, and
 G.C. then too he kept it but till the next
 customary day, when the *Consules Suff-*
^a Id. c. 28 & *fecti* were of course to succeed. The
 Fasti Coll. two last times when he nominated him-
 self, that he might shew what a parti-
 cular Regard he paid to Merit, he chose
^b A.C. ^b *Quintilius Marcellus*, and ^c *Dion Cassi-*
 226. *us* for his Partners; one of whom we
 know by his Writings, the other appears
^c A.C. from *Lampridius's* Character to have
 229. been reckon'd amongst the worthiest
 Men of that Age. *Alexander* made *Dion*
 Governor of *Africa* before, and after
 Dio. p. that of *Dalmatia* and the upper *Panno-*
 917. B. *nia*. He kept so strict a hand over the
Pannonian Army, that upon his Return
 to *Rome*, the *Guards* that had newly
 killed *Ulpian*, brought Accusations
 Id. p. 918. against him, fearing the Emperor would
 F. have put a Man into *Ulpian's* place,
 who might follow the Example that
Dion had set already in *Pannonia*. Such
 Accusations were looked upon as meri-
 torious by *Alexander*, who for that
 Reason made him Consul with himself,
 sent him into the Countrey to live pri-
 vately during his Consulship, that his
 Presence might not irritate the *Guards*;
 and

and gave him Money out of the Treasury besides, to defray the Expence of that chargeable Employment. *Candidates to Quæstorships* being obliged to exhibit Shews to the People at their own Charge, he gave them *Prætorships* when their Offices were expired, and after that *Governments of Provinces*, which made the first Burthen scarcely felt.

A.C.

222,

E.C.

Lamp. in
Alex.


cap. 43.

§. 20. He was no less tender of the People of Rome, than he had been before of the Senate. *Elagabalus*, who was born to make wast of every thing, had squander'd away the Corn and Oil of the City, so that if he had lived much longer, his Ministers must either have taken new measures, or the People would have been starved. This Abuse was early redrest, and *Alexander* supplied the Deficiency's of the Corn out of his own Pocket. The Oil which *Severus* gave the People was lessened by *Elagabalus's* *Præfect of the Corn*, and was now agen restored entire. Merchants were encouraged to trade in Rome with great Immunities. The People complaining once of the Dearness of Flesh, Proclamation was made by a Crier, that they should agree to say what

Id. capp.

21, 22.

Ibid.

- A.C. 222, &c.  *Ibid.* what sorts of Flesh they thought were dearest. When they said Beef and Pork, he did not thereupon beat down their Price by an Edict, but commanded that no Heifers, Cow's, or Sow's, which were either pregnant or gave suck, should be killed; and this in two Years brought down the Price of those Commodity's to a fourth part of what it was before. The bestial *Elagabalus* allow'd Men and Women to bathe promiscuously: This abominable Custom *Alexander* took away. He laid a Tax upon several Trades of Luxury, such as Goldsmiths, Silversmiths, Glasmakers, and several others, which was laid out in building and maintaining Bathes for the use of the City, to which he gave *Wood* and *Oil* at his own charge, settling an Endowment upon both for ever. He lower'd the Interest of Money to a Third of what it had been formerly, for the benefit of the Poor, to whom he would often lend Money *gratis* to buy Land withal, out of the produce of which he was to be repaid. He remitted the *Coronary Gold* at *Rome*. That Justice might be more equally distributed in the City, he appointed 14 *Curators*, all *Consular*
- Ibid.*
- Id. cap. 24.
- Id. cap. 21.
- Id. cap. 32.

Consular Men, who were obliged to attend the business of the City with the *Praefect*; and when any thing of moment was to be done, a considerable number of them was obliged to attend. The necessary Trades, such as Vintners, Victuallers, Shoemakers, and the like, he incorporated into Companies, which were to chuse Advocates of their own, to manage their business before Judges appointed by the Emperor for that purpose. Public Shew's he was no Friend to; he thought they stole away too much of the Peoples time. He once had a design of reducing the day's wherein any of them were to be exhibited, to XXX in a Year. Why that Project did not take effect, is uncertain: However, thus much he did towards it, that he lessened the Charge of those Shews that he exhibited himself. Actors, and Gladiators, and Chariot-drivers, used to have Money given them by former Emperors. *Elagabalus* particularly scattered Gold among them with great Profusion; *Alexander* on the contrary never gave them any Gold or Silver, and seldom Brass. They were Slaves, he said, and to be used as such, to be maintained and provided with what

A.C.

222,

C.C.


Id. cap. 33.

Ibid.

Id. cap. 43.

Id. cap. 33.

Id. cap. 37.

A.C. 222, &c.  what was necessary, as common Huntsmen, or Coachmen, but not made Lords, or set over the rest of the People. And farther to shew his Opinion of those Diversions, he appropriated the Duty which was paid by the infamous Houses of the City, to the Repair of the *Theatres*, *Cirques*, *Amphitheatres*, and *Stadia* in *Rome*.

Id. cap. 24.

Vide supra,
p. 308.

Lump in
Alex. c. 21.

Id. cap. 26.

§. 21. He was very tender also of the *Provinces*. *Caracalla's* Law had made all the *Free-men* of the Empire *Citizens of Rome*. In that there was no Alteration made; for *Alexander* never abridged any of his Subjects of the Advantages which they already enjoy'd. He appropriated the Taxes of many Cities, to raise or repair such public Works as they wanted, or were ruinous. *Trajan* had been particularly munificent in building Bridges throughout the Empire: Many of these were out of Repair: *Alexander* therefore mended them, and added new ones where they were wanting, but retained or renewed *Trajan's* Inscriptions upon all those that were built at first by him. He made public Barns in every Province, for the use of those who had no Barns of their own. He erected

erected Baths also wherever the People wanted them. The *Capitation Taxes* were very high in *Elagabalus's* time, these *Alexander* reduced to a $\frac{1}{50}$ part; and therefore coined ^a *Third-Pieces* of an *Aureus* for the ease of those who before were obliged to pay 10 *Aurei* a man, which seems to have been the common Tax. He would have brought them down to $\frac{1}{40}$ part, and had coined ^b *Quarter-Pieces* of an *Aureus* on purpose, but the necessity's of the Public would not give him leave to lower the *Capitation* so much, and therefore those small pieces were never current. This was not the onely advantage the people found by this Reduction of their Money by *Alexander*. *Elagabalus*, who loved to give extravagantly, had coined Pieces of Gold of two, three, four, and so on to ten, fifty, and one hundred *Aurei*. His end in this was, that when he gave the old Tale of pieces among his Chariot-Drivers, Actors, and such sort of Companions, they might receive 10, 20, 50, or 100 times so much as they did formerly. But then these large Pieces were useless in common Payments, and the stop of their Circulation was a damp to Trade. *Alexander*

A. C.

222,

86.

Id. cap. 39.

^a 5 s. 2½ d.^b 3 s. 10 d.

3 q. ½ q.

Lamprid.
ubi supra.

A.C. *ander* therefore melted all these Pieces
 222, down, allowing no *Gold-pieces* to be
 Ec. current above an *Aureus*, and by ma-
 ~~~~~ king *Third-Pieces* of them too, he could  
 make little Presents whenever he  
 had no mind to make greater. In  
 memory of this *Reduction* there are Me-  
 dals still extant, wherein he is thank'd  
 Mediob. for his RESTORING of the public  
 COIN.

S. 22. He took great care to pre-  
 serve his People from the Insults of  
*Slaves*. He had once a design to have  
 Lamp. in obliged them to wear a different Ha-  
 Alex.c.27. bit; but *Ulpian* and *Paullus* dissuaded  
 him from it, because they did not think  
 it advisable in a Government where  
 Slaves were so numerous, ever to give  
 them a Temptation to try their strength.  
 Id.cap.23. He order'd his own *Servants* however  
 to wear a distinct Habit, that the Peo-  
 ple might know them; and his *Freed-*  
*Men* to wear the common Habit of  
*Free Plebeians*. He had a mortal Aver-  
 sion to *Eunuchs*, that third Species of  
 Mankind, as he pleasantly used to call  
 them, who had born so great a sway  
 under *Elagabalus*. Those few that  
 Ibid. were suffered in the Court, were al-  
 low'd to be in no Employment near  
 him-

himself, but appointed to attend upon his Wife. There was a great deal of Reason for this Prohibition ; for several Emperors had suffered *Eunuchs* to be Ministers of State, to the great disturbance of the Common-Wealth. Their chiefest Aim was to raise Money , and in order to that they would keep the Prince whom they served in ignorance of his own Affairs as much as ever they could ; would sow Dissensions between him and his best Friends ; would suffer none to come at him but themselves ; and would sell his Ear, pretending Interest where they had none, and alway's more than they really had. By this means they raised Money of every Man that had any thing to solicit for at Court, and were often paid for Services in which they had not the least Hand. The *Romans* called this *selling of Smear* ; and as the practice was very common under weak or corrupt Emperors, so wise Princes never failed to punish it with great Severity wheresoever they could prove it. *Alexander* gave a remarkable Instance of his detestation of this Custom, in the Case of *Vetronius Turinus*.

A. C.

222,

E. C.

Id cap. 45.  
collat. cum  
cap 66.

A.C. §. 23. *Turinus* was a Man whom  
 222, *Alexander* had received into his Fami-  
 Ec. liarity so far, that he pretended no Man  
 ~~~~~ had so great an Interest with the Em-  
 Id. cap 35. peror as himself. He offer'd his Ser-
 vice to any Body for Money to solicit
 the Emperor for them; and drove so
 infamous a Trade, that it reflected up-
 on *Alexander*, whom the World be-
 liev'd to be very weak, otherwise they
 could not imagine that *Turinus* would
 so long be suffered. For what they so
 publicly complained of, could not, as
 they thought, be a Secret at Court.
 At last *Alexander* began to suspect him;
 but not being willing to punish him
 without certain Evidence, he took this
 Method to find him out. He ordered
 one whom he could confide in, to ask
 a Boon of himself in public, and then
 commanded him to desire *Turinus* to use
 his Interest privately for him with the
 Emperor, and to second his Petition at
 a fitting opportunity. *Turinus* willing-
 ly promised his assistance; and when
 the Petitioner came again, tho he had
 never mentioned the Man's Case to the
 Emperor, yet he told him he had, and
 did not question Success, and upon
 that hope demanded a Sum of Money
 for


for his pains, if he could procure the thing which the Man sued for. This Demand the Petitioner agree'd to before Witness, and acquainted the Emperor with it, who immediately gave him the thing which he was commanded to put in for at first. *Turinus* then came upon him for the Money that was agree'd upon between them; telling the Man that it was his Interest that got him his Request, tho at the same time *Turinus* had never spoken a word in his behalf to the Emperor, as the Petitioner well knew. Upon *Turinus's* demand, the Money was paid by the Petitioner before Witness, and the whole Evidence was laid before the Emperor. *Alexander* then had Proof enough to convict him; but resolving to make him an effectual Example to deter any body else from ever using the Emperor's Name to such a purpose, he commanded Enquiry to be made into the former Behavior of *Turinus*. And when he found that *Turinus* made a common practise of taking Money of both sides, especially of those who wanted Governments and Presidentships of Provinces, which had an influence upon the Administration of Ju-

A.C.

222,

G.C.

Id. cap 36.

A.C. 222, &c.  Since throughout the Empire, he commanded him to be ty'd to a Stake in the *Forum Transitorium*, where all the City might see him as they past by, whilst the Crier made this Proclamation, *Let him perish by Smoak, that sold it.*

784. 21. 6d. Id. cap. 23. §. 24. This Execution of *Tarinius* with another of a Slave, who was crucified for taking 100 *Aurei* of a Soldier for something which he was to solicit for him, put an end to those clandestine Bargains. Nothing now was disposed of without the Emperor's Knowledge, and he always endeavour'd to find Men that should be fit for the Business for which he designed them.

§. 25. These are some of the Regulations which this Excellent Prince made in the Civil Government. We need not wonder that the People and the Senate generally loved him, we ought rather to have wonder'd if they had not. We may well suppose therefore, that those Praises of him, and Vow's to the Gods for him, which appear still upon his Medals, were sincere. We should have had the same, 'tis true, had he been another *Elagabalus*



lus or a *Caracalla*; but then History would have informed us how much they were given by Constraint. Now we are sure they speak the genuine Sense of the People. They were pleased with the HAPPINESS of the TIMES. They applauded the EQUITY, the VIRTUE, the PROVIDENCE, the JUSTICE, and the PIETY of their Emperor. They were at PEACE with all the World, which was no common Blessing, and they doubted not but under *Alexander* this PEACE would be ETERNAL; and therefore the Senate commanded Medals to be struck in Honor of AUGUSTUS's PEACE. He was their MARS the PACIFIER, and MARS the BRINGER of PEACE. When *Mamaea* his Mother, who upon *Elagabalus*'s death was called *Augusta*, and the *Mother of Augustus*, took those Titles which appear upon her Son's Medals, the Senate thought they were her due, and could presage nothing less than PERPETUAL FELICITY thro her and her Son's means; and by abundance of different Coins stamp'd at their Command, they signified their Acknowledgements to Heaven for her

A.C.

222,

Ec.



FRUITFULNESS, which brought forth such an EMPEROR, such a PERPETUAL FATHER, who truly was the PUBLIC HAPPINESS. JUPITER as PRESERVER was thanked for keeping *Alexander* during the late Reign: JUPITER as REVENGER was thanked for assisting the Army to get rid of *El gabalus*: And JUPITER as PROTECTOR was pray'd to, still to preserve that Prince, whom as they ignorantly believed, he had set upon the Throne. Thus in their public Monuments did the *Romans* express their Gratitude to *Alexander* for the Blessings they enjoy'd under his Government; great at any time, but much greater now to them, who had scarce lived a Year together free from dread and apprehension to themselves, upon the least distast of their Emperors, for above XL Years from the Death of *M. Antoninus*.

C H A P. II.

*Of Alexander's Care of his Soldiers,
and his Expedition against the
Persians.*

S. I. **T**HE Peace that the *Roman* Empire enjoyed when *Elagabalus* died, gave *Alexander* great opportunities of reforming the Abuses that had crept into the Civil Government; and these Opportunity's were by no means to be neglected. But this was the easiest part of his Work. The Government of *Rome* was now in a manner wholly military; and it had been the particular Maxim of this Emperor's Family to care for the Soldiers at the Expence of the People. In managing therefore of the Army, was *Alexander's* great difficulty, which for many Years he happily got over. When he first came to the Empire, the Soldiers had a ^a Donative according to Custom, and ^b twice at least afterwards;

^a Mediob.

ad annum

222.

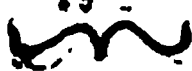
^b Limp.in

but Alex.c.26.

A.C.

222,

Sc.



Cap. 15.

Cap. 47.

but what they received at a time we know not. The Truth is, he ow'd his whole Advancement to *them*; for *they* made *Elagabalus* adopt him; *they* afterwards saved his Life; and *they* killed his adopting Father, when *they* saw he could no other way be safe. These were Obligations so good a Man could never forget. We find accordingly, that no Prince ever took a more Fatherly Care of his Soldiers than he. It was capital during his Reign for a Tribune to cheat them in their Allowance; and in their Quarters they were carefully provided for. If they were to march, instead of carrying XVII day's Provision with them, as it had been the Custom formerly, every thing was got ready for them, wherever they stop'd, unless they were in an Enemy's Countrey, and then they were allowed Mules and Camels extraordinary; and he used to say he took more care of his Soldiers than of himself, because the Safety of the Public depended upon them. He would visit even the meanest of them in Person, when they were sick, and see that they wanted nothing that was fitting. If their Diseases were grievous, he would order

order them to be nursed in the Countrey's round about where they lay, by careful and grave Women, who were certainly paid for their trouble, whether the Men died or recovered.

A.C.

222,

&c.



§. 2. This Exactness in such little things seems strange in so great an Emperor; and yet we are told that he kept particular Accounts of the Names, Number, Quality, Pay, and Time of the respective Service of every Man in his Armies. He knew how and by whose Interest any Man was raised; and would frequently look over the Lists, and take Notes for his own Use, concerning those that ought to be preferred. He loved to see his Men well clothed and horsed, with fine Armor, and suitable Accoutrements. By this he reckon'd he reaped a double advantage; one was, that he really obliged his Men; the other, that he kept them thereby the more easily to their Duty.

Cap. 21.

Cap. 50.

He used to say, ' That a Soldier well
' clothed, and well fed, and with Mo-
' ney in his Pocket, will be afraid
' of mutinying, least he should be ca-
' shiered; whereas he that is driven to
' Necessity's is desperate, as think-
' ing his Condition cannot be worse

Cap. 52.

A.C. 'than 'tis.' He affected to be like *Alex-*
 222, *ander the Great* in every thing but his
 Ec. Cruelty and his Drunkenness (for which
 ~~~~~ too he would find Executes), and there-  
 fore endeavoured to model his Army af-  
 ter the Pattern of his great Namesake's.  
 This put him upon forming a Body of  
 Men with *Silver* and *Gold Shields*, and  
 Cap 50 making a *Phalanx* of 30,000 (whom  
 he called *Phalangarii*) out of Six Le-  
 gions; which Body did him great Ser-  
 vice in the *Persian War*, for which their  
 Pay was advanced.

S. 3. Such Care, and such Love on  
*Alexander's* part, required suitable Re-  
 turns of Obedience from his Soldiers;  
 and those indeed he did expect. When  
 they were in the Field, he would go  
 over the whole Camp himself, and  
 Cap. 51. would suffer no Man to be absent from  
 his Standard. If any Inhabitant of the  
 Country was insulted upon a March, the  
 Person that did it was sure to be punish-  
 ed very severely. A common Soldier  
 Cap. 52. having done an Injury to an Old Wo-  
 man, upon her Complaint he was turn-  
 ed out of the Legion, and being a  
 Wain-Wright was given to her as a  
 Slave, that she might maintain her self  
 by his Labour. When he lay at *Anti-*

*Antioch* in his way towards *Persia*, to oppose *Artaxerxes*, having received Intelligence that some of his Men frequented the Baths and other Places of Luxury at *Daphne*, he commanded them all to be apprehended and put in Irons. Hereupon the *Legion* to which they belonged, mutiny'd, and tumultuously demanded that their Companions might be released. But this did not daunt him in the least. It was a Capital Crime by the old Constitution of the *Roman* Discipline, for a Legionary Soldier to go to Baths to which Women used to resort. *Avidius Cassius* was sent into *Syria* many Years before by *Marcus*, to cure the *Syrian* Legions of those and other Effeminate Customs, and he reform'd them with great Severity. His Example *Alexander* seems now to have had in view. *Cassius* cashier'd every man in his Army that was but seen in *Daphne*, a place in the Suburbs of *Antioch*, where no sober Man ever appeared. These Men therefore that were apprehended there, *Alexander* was now resolved to punish. He summoned the whole *Legion* to appear armed before the Tribunal, whither the Prisoners

were

A.C.

232.

Vide Supra,  
p 76.

C p. 53.


A.C. were all brought, that they might see  
 232. he did not fear them. He put them in  
 ~~~~~ mind of their Ancient Discipline, into  
 which he introduced nothing new; bad
 them remember what great things that
 had wrought; exhorted them not to
 follow the Pattern of the late Reign;
 and told them plainly, that if any of
 them should drink, and bath, and keep
 Womens Company, he would punish
 the Offenders, be they who they
 would, with death. This Speech
 heighten'd their Fury, and with great
 Irreverence they set up a loud Cry at
 what *Alexander* said. 'Keep your Ex-
 'clamations, *said the fearless Emperor*,
 'till you meet your Enemy; then they
 'are necessary, but not when they are
 'used against your Prince: Your *In-*
 'structors (*n*) never taught you this;
 'they taught you to shout in the Field,
 'when you were to engage with *Ger-*
 'mans, or *Persians*, but never before
 'his Tribunal, who takes the Corn,
 'the Clothes, and the Mony of the Sub-
 'jects of the Provinces, to give to you.
 'Stop your Clamours, or I shall break
 'you immediately: *Fellow-Soldiers* you
 'will be no longer; and how to call
 'you so much as *Romans* (*o*) I know
 'not.'

S. 4. This Language put the *Legion* out of all patience, and some of them pointed their Arms at him, threatening to attempt his Life, if he went on. Still this did not terrify him. 'If you have Courage, *says he*, keep it for your Enemy's, exercise it against them; for these things move me not. I am but one man, and if you kill me, the Common-Wealth, the Senate, and the People of *Rome*, will not fail to revenge my Blood.' When this did not move them, at last he said, *Romans be gone, and lay down your Arms.* This positive Sentence struck them all; they pulled off their Soldiers Habits, and went each Man to their several Lodgings: They laid down their Arms also, which the Emperor's Guards that were then upon duty, carried to the Camp. The Example imprest an Awe upon the whole Army, and no Man afterwards during that whole War offer'd to make any disturbance. Thirty day's after, *Alexander* being applied to, to forgive that Legion, he restored them again to their former Place, onely he punished those Officers with Death, who had connived at those Liberty's which had occasioned so great Disorders.

A.C.

232.

Cap. 54.

A.C. 232.  ders. And this very Legion did him afterwards signal Service in the *Persian* War, lamented his Death more affectionately than any other part of his Army, and fell upon those *Germans* that were the immediate Authors of his Death.

Cap. 63.

Cap. 58. §. 5. The War against the *Persians* was the first that *Alexander* ever undertook in Person. Some Insurrections there had been before, but they were suppressed by the Governors of the several Provinces where the Disturbances arose. *Lampridius* mentions one of this Nature in *Mauritania Tingitana*, another in *Armenia*, the first of which was quieted by *Furius Celsus*, and the second by *Junius Palmatus*, besides a third which was more considerable in or near *Illyricum*, which was crushed by *Varius Macrinus* his Kinsman. This last is mentioned in his Medals to have happened in the Year CCXXIX or CCXXX; in memory whereof, if he did not triumph, yet a Triumphal Chariot is imprest upon his Coins, on which VICTORY over the GERMANNS is inscribed (*p*). The Senate upon this offered him the Titles of *Mauritanicus*, *Armeniacus*, and *Germanicus*;

nicus ; though it appears not by his Medals that he ever accepted of them.

A. C.

232.

§. 6. But these were inconsiderable matters, in comparison of that War which he managed in Person against *Artaxerxes*, which was begun in the Year CCXXXII, or CCXXXI, at the soonest (*q*). *Artaxerxes* was a Man of no Birth, who from very mean beginnings had got together so great a Strength, that in the Year CCXXVI he killed his Sovereign *Artabanus* King of *Parthia*, the last of the *Arsacidae*, and restored the Sovereignty of that Kingdom once more to the Ancient *Persians*. The Account which *Agathias* gives of this Man is exceeding strange: He says that one *Pabecus* a *Persian* Shoemaker, very skilful in Judicial Astrology, finding by his Art, that one *Sasan* a Soldier who accidentally quarter'd in his House, would have a Son that should rise to great Honor, order'd his own Wife to lie with this *Sasan*, that she might have a Child by him. She did so, and having a Son, this *Pabecus* bred him up as his own. The Boy for Lucks sake was called *Art-Achshurush*, or ^a *Artaxares*, or ^b *Artaxerxes*, as the *Greeks* pronounce it. This was a Roial

Page 61.
edit. Vulcanii.

^a Agathias.
^b Dion.
Herodian.

A.C.

232.

Agath. p.
60, 61.

Dion p.

918. A.

A.C.

226 ?

Herodian
lib. 6. §. 6.

a Roial Name among the ancient Kings of *Persia*. When he grew up, being a daring busy Man, fit to raise and foment disturbances, he got the *Magi* of his side, who were the great Oracles of the People, tho not so much in credit at that time with their Kings, as they had been in former Ages. By this means he gathered a powerful Party together, with whom he set upon *Artabanus* the last *Parthian* King, whom in three Battles he entirely defeated, and at last killed. In him ended the Line of the *Arfacidae*, after they had reigned in *Parthia*, or *Persia*, as it was now once more called, above CCCCLXX Years.

§. 7. This extraordinary Success raised *Artaxerxes* to a mighty height. He esteemed himself as the second Founder of the *Persian* Monarchy, and nothing less than another *Cyrus*. He threatned to recover all that the *Romans* held, that once belong'd to the *Persians*, as far as the Maritime City's of the Lesser *Asia*, which were anciently little *Græcian* Commonwealths. *Mesopotamia* lay next him, which was then in the *Romans* hands, and having besieged *Attrae*, the City where *Trajan* and

and *Severus* failed before, he resolved to invade *Mesopotamia* after he had taken it, which he reckon'd would be no difficult Prize. But *Atræ* proved as impregnable to him, as it had been formerly to those Warlike *Roman* Emperors. For after he had made a Breach in the Wall, he lost great Numbers of his Men in an Ambuscade, which obliged him to rise from before the Town. Hereupon he laid aside his design of falling upon the *Romans* for some time, and went into *Media*, where he subdued a great part of the Country: Whilst some for fear, and some through force, submitted themselves unto him. From thence he went into *Armenia* where his Fortune left him. There the Sons of *Artabanus* had gotten together a Body of Men, partly of Natives, partly of *Medes* and *Parthians*, who fled thither for Relief. These being desperate, forced *Artaxerxes*, upon an Engagement, to retire into *Persia*, where he let them alone for a while, and bent his whole Strength against the *Romans*, whom he then looked upon as the easier Prey. For the ancient *Roman* Discipline was so broken, thro the Luxury of former Reigns, and the Impunity that attend-


A. C.

228.


Dio in
Ftag. Edit.
per Valef.
p. 769.

Dio ubi su-
pra & p.
918. A.

ed

A.C. 228?  ed it, that now their standing Armies would scarcely obey any of their Commanders, and the *Mesopotamian* Legions had newly killed one *Fabius Heracleo*, the Governor of *Mesopotamia*, probably because he labor'd to bring them to order, that they might be in a condition to oppose the new victorious King of *Persia*. *Artaxerxes* therefore question'd not but such Legions might easily be overcome.

Dio p.
918. C.

A.C. 231?  S. 8. In the Year CCXXX, or CCXXXI, (r) as I lay it, *Artaxerxes* broke into *Mesopotamia*, besieged *Nisibis*^a, and overrun the whole Country. *Herodian* say's^b, That when the New's of this Invasion was brought to *Alexander*, he was in a great Consternation; because having been bred up in ease and quiet all his Life-time in *Rome*, he could not tell how to bring himself to manage a War, where the Invader threatned no less than to recover all that once belonged to the *Persian* Monarchy. It was thought advisable therefore to send Embassadors to *Artaxerxes*, to desire him to keep within his own Territory's, and not to bring Ruine upon himself, by indulging to vain Hopes, which by occasioning a mighty War

^a Syncellus p 35.
as quoted
by Mr. de Tille-
mont.

^b Herod
lib. 6 § 6.

War, would have an incertain Issue : To lay before him the difference he would find between provoking the *Romans*, and meddling with his Neighbouring *Barbarians* : And to put him in mind of the Victory's which *Augustus*, *Trajan*, *L. Verus*, and *Severus*, had obtained against the *Parthians*. This Message he hoped might fright *Artaxerxes*, and stave off that War, of which he was so much afraid.

§. 9. But this Embassy signified little. *Artaxerxes* rely'd upon the Weakness of the *Romans*, as much as he did upon his own Strength. *Alexander* therefore raised ^a a very great Army, and after ^b he had given a noble Donative to his Soldiers, he prepared for his Journey (s). The Senate and the People were exceedingly grieved at his going from them : They parted with him with Tears, for they knew the Chance of War, and they despaired of meeting with such a Successor, who would be so true a Father to them as he had been. *Alexander* wept too along with them, out of Tenderness, not Cowardise, as *Herodian* would have us think. He went by the way of *Illyricum* to view his Legions there, and to

A.C.

231?

~~~~~

<sup>a</sup> Herod.

ibid. §. 8.

<sup>b</sup> Id. ibid.

§. 10.

A.C. 231 ? take such Detachments as might be necessary ; from whence by long Marches he went to *Antioch*, where he resolved to stay, both to bring his Army into order, and to set a new Negotiation on foot, to compose Matters with *Artaxerxes*. He sent therefore a second Embassy, which was as ineffectual as the former ; and then *Artaxerxes* try'd to frighten *Alexander* by Embassadors of his own, to require him in their Master's Name to relinquish *Syria*, and all his *Asiatic* Dominions, or otherwise to let him know that he might expect to feel the utmost effects of their Master's indignation. This Embassy consisted of 400 Men, all of them Persons of the chiefest Quality, with Habits and Equipage suitable to their Monarch's Greatness : They question'd not but to strike Terror into the *Romans*, and make them lay aside all thoughts of opposing such a mighty Prince, served by such glittering Subjects. The Emperors of *Rome* not being accustomed to such threatening Messages, *Alexander* stript these 400 Ambassadors of all their fine Clothes, and sent them into *Phrygia*, where he assigned them Villages to inhabit, and Lands to subsist upon, without

## Severus Alexander.

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out giving them leave to return home; and then prepared to take the Field against the *Persians*.

A.C.

233.



§. 10. It was now Summer-time in the Year CCXXXIII, and the way that he proposed to manage the War was this: He divided his Army into three parts. One Body was order'd to march thro *Armenia*, and so to break into *Media*, and over-run it. The second was to go to the place where the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris* meet, and there to pass over about *Ctesiphon* (as one may guess by *Herodian's* description) into *Persia* (1). He reserved the third, which was the most considerable, for himself, and with that he designed to march directly thro *Mesopotamia* into the Enemy's Countrey. By these different way's he reckon'd he should fall upon the *Persians* before they looked for him, and thereby break their Strength. For tho when he marched any whither in his own Territory's, public Notice was given two Months before, of the Hour when he intended to march, and of every Place where his Men were to stop; yet when his Army's were upon any Expedition,

Id §. 12.

Lamp. in  
Alex c. 45.

A.C. 233. and the Soldiers never knew whither they were going, till they were come to the very place. Nothing could be better laid than this design. For the *Herodian* *Persian* Soldiery was all a Militia that served on Horseback, hastily gather'd, and willing to go home agen each Man to his own Habitation with what Plunder they could get, as soon as their Work was at an End. *Alexander* therefore supposed that by this means he might tire them with his Regular Troops, and so the more easily get a Peace.

§. 11. But this design, how wisely soever laid, miscarried (if we may believe *Herodian*) in every Branch. The Army that was to break into *Media* thro *Armenia*, was so batter'd with passing over the steep *Armenian* Mountains, which the Summer Season had just made passable, that they had much ado to get into *Media*. When they were there however, they made great havock, burning and spoiling wherever they came. The *Persian* Army that was sent thither to oppose them, was not able to drive them out of the Countrey, because (being chiefly Horse) they could not march in that Rocky



Rocky and uneven Region; so that all they could do, was to prevent the *Romans* from making so much spoil as otherwise they might have done. In the mean time News was brought that the *Second Body* had crost the *Euphrates*, and broke into the most Easterly parts of *Parthia*, and were marching directly forward into *Persia*, into the Heart of the Kingdom. The *Persian* Emperor herupon leaving so much Force in *Media* as would keep the *Romans* at a Bay, went with his whole Army against this second Body. The *third* Army which *Alexander* himself was to have commanded in Person, stayd with him in *Mesopotamia*, and never crost the *Tigris* at all to go into *Persia*, which was the ruine of both the rest. For those that went by the way of *Ctesiphon*, expecting to be met by the main Body, marched towards the Place where all the three Bodies were to rendezvous; when of a sudden *Artaxerxes* fell upon them ere they were aware, and encompassed them as within a Net, and by shooting at them on every side, distressed them sorely. The *Roman* Army thus surrounded, stood close, and defended one another with

A.C.

233.



Id. ib. § 15.

§ 13. ex-  
tremo.

§. 13.

§ 14.

their Shields quite round, still facing the Enemy on all sides, as long as they were able. But the *Persians* so over-power'd them with Numbers, that at last they cut them to pieces: However, the *Romans* died not unrevenge'd, having in their turns too killed a very great number of their Enemy's. This Victory rais'd the *Persians* Hopes much higher.

§. 12. The Reasons (say's *Herodian*) why *Alexander* did not go into *Persia*, as he first intended, are variously reported. Some said he was afraid, because he had never seen any Action; but most attributed it to *Marmæa*, who durst not venture her Son thro her overmuch Fondness; with which he complying, lost a Noble Army that was sent before, which he had promised to meet. This Calamity which he had thus brought upon the Empire, made him fall sick with Grief, which with the Sultriness of the Climate oblig'd him to return to *Antioch*, with all that Army that should have been carried into *Persia*: The Season affected his Army as much as it did himself, especially the *Illyrian* Legions; which being us'd to a colder and a moist-

cr

er Air, and eating more largely than such a Climate would allow, contracted dangerous Diseases, that took off very many of them before they got to *Antioch*. They were uneasy likewise at their Companions Misfortune; and to add to their grief, the Forces in *Media* that were sent for home, the Winter being now come on, were most of them starved with Cold, or lost their Limbs upon the *Armenian Hills*; so that comparatively speaking, very few of that great Body got safe to *Antioch*. And thus what with Cold, what with Sickness, and what with the Sword, every part of *Alexander's* Army was considerably damaged, and the remainder discontented against himself. This is the Account which *Herodian* gives of *Alexander's* Expedition against *Artaxerxes*.

A.C.

233.

§. 13. The Account which *Lamprius* gives us of this War, is directly contrary to *Herodian's*, which he had seen, and contradicts. He says that *Alexander* went with a powerful Army against *Artaxerxes*, and conquer'd him in a formal Engagement: That he went in Person throughout his Army, giving necessary Orders, and encouraging his Men: That during the Fight, when

In Alex.  
cap. 55.

A.C. he was within reach of his Enemy's  
 233. Weapons, he shew'd great Proofs of his  
 ~~~~~ Personal Courage ; and that as the due  
 reward of so much Bravery, he got an
 absolute Victory at last. He recover'd
Mesopotamia thereby entire, and then
 after dividing the Spoils which they
 took, among his Soldiers, he returned
 to *Antioch*. The *Persian* Prisoners were
 soon redeemed ; and if they belong'd
 to private Soldiers, the Ransom was
 given to them ; otherwise, it was put
 into the Public Treasury.

§. 14. It may now be very reasonably asked, which of these Accounts is the truest ; for I can see no way how to reconcile them. *Lampridius's* Authority, I must own, is of more weight with me than *Herodian's*, because he transcribes the original Speech which *Alexander* made to the Senate, out of the *Journals of the Senate-House*. Besides, there is reason to believe that some of those many Medals which were struck by the Senate's Order (u) in memory of the Victory's of this INVINCIBLE AUGUSTUS, have a relation to his Advantages against *Artaxerxes*. INVINCIBLE is an Epithet seldom given (w) to any Emperor that
 was

was not engaged in some Military Expedition himself; and this was the only War that *Alexander* was ever concerned in, except his last, wherein he was soon cut off. These Authority's therefore are to me conclusive; and I cannot think we should have had any of them, if the Success of this War had been as *Herodian* represents it (x). Would *Alexander* have spoken thus to the Senate? 'We have overcome the
' *Perfians*. There is no need of Elo-
' quence to set this matter forth; it is
' fit onely you should know what were
' their Preparations, and what their
' Arms. They had 700 Elephants, all
' loaden with Towers; 30 of these we
' took; we killed 200, and brought
' away 18. Chariots armed with Sithes
' they had 1800, of which we took a
' great number. They had 120,000
' Horse, and those we routed: 10,000
' of their Men armed *cap-a-pe* we kil-
' led, and put their Armor upon our
' own Soldiers. We took many *Perfi-*
' *ans* Prisoners, and those we sold. We
' reduced all *Mesopotamia*, which that
' impure Beast [my Predecessor] ne-
' glected. We gained an entire Victo-
' ry over *Artaxerxes*, and forced him
' to

A.C.

233.

Lamprid.
ubi supra.
cap. 56.

A.C. 233. *~* ' to run away into his own Countrey,
 ' and recovered some Standards that
 ' had been formerly lost. These things
 ' we did, and the Soldiers are come
 ' back loaden with Spoils. 'Tis your
 ' Business now to offer Supplications to
 ' the Gods, that we may not seem un-
 ' grateful.

Herodian
 lib. 6 § 15.

§. 15. How long *Alexander* stayd at *Antioch* after *Artaxerxes* was defeated, is uncertain. The time he stayd, we may be sure was employ'd in regulating whatsoever he might think wanted his directions. The *Persian* was now glad to be quiet, and he gave the *Romans* no disturbance till after *Alexander* was dead. If *Herodian* may be credited, *Alexander* was now busy in getting a new Army, to oppose that Enemy who by his own confession was so weakened, that he was glad to lie still, when an Irruption of the *Germans* into the Empire in two places, over the *Rhine*, and over the *Danube*, obliged him to return home agen. For the danger there was pressing, and *Illyricum* onely divided those *Germans* who had crost the *Danube*, from *Italy* and *Rome* it self. He returned therefore after he had placed very strong Garisons in the Frontier Towns,

Towns, and left Forces sufficient to stop the *Perfians* for the present at least, till he could give a good Account of these *Germans*. The *Romans*, say's *Lampridius*, were in Indignation that these People should give them so much trouble under a victorious Prince, who formerly submitted to effeminate ones. However, there was a necessity for *Alexander* to come back to *Rome*, where he triumphed *Sept. 25. CCXXXIV*, with great Solemnity. His Chariot was drawn by four Elephants, and the whole Senate, Knights, and People, with an infinite Throng of Women and Children, especially Soldiers Wives, attended him from the Capital to the Palace, crying, *Now Rome is safe, since Alexander is safe*. After that, he exhibited the Shew's of the Circus, and distributed his Vth and last *Liberality* to the People (y), and made a new Establishment for Boy's, whom he called *Mamæani*, and Girls who were called *Mamæanæ*, in imitation of that which *Marcus* made in Honour of his Wife *Faustina*. When these things were over, he went directly forwards against the *Germans*.

A.C.

234.

In Alex.
cap. 59.

Cap. 56.
Cap. 57.

Vide supra,
p. 97.



C H A P. III.

Of Alexander's Death : of his Murderer Maximinus : With some Particulars of his way of Living.

S. I. **W**E know nothing certain of the Reasons of this general Revolt of the *Germans*. It is probable *Alexander* withdrew those *Pensions*, or lessened them at least, which *Caracalla* granted to the *Germans* when he bought his Peace. The Reason that makes me think so, is because he refused to grant new ones to some People that impatiently begged for them, and that valued themselves as much as any of those that had *Pensions* already. We have an Account of one dispute of this nature, between the *Carpi*, and *Tullius Menophilus*, the Governor of *Moesia* under *Alexander* (2). They applied themselves to him for a *Pension*, thinking that they deserved as much as the *Goths*, who were constantly paid. *Menophilus*



Menophilus being resolved to put an end to demands of that kind, delay'd to give them Audience for several day's, upon a pretence of his being employ'd in exercising his Men, to the seeing of which the *Carpi* were invited. At last he placed himself upon a Tribunal in the Camp, with all the great Officers of his Army about him, and then ordered their Embassadors to be introduced. When they came, he took no notice of them, but whilst they set forth their Case, he talked with his Officers, as if that were a matter of greater moment. This Treatment amazing the *Carpi*, they desired onely to be informed why the *Goths* had *Pensions*, and they had none. *Menophilus* told them his Master had much Wealth, 'twas true, but he gave it onely to those that desired it. We desire it, say they, let him give it us; for we are more considerable than the *Goths*. I will acquaint the Emperor with your Petition, said *Menophilus* smiling, come agen four Months hence, and you shall have an Answer. At four months end they came again, and he entertain'd them as he did at first, and put them off for three months longer; and then at a third

A.C.

2308

Excerpta
ex Petro
Patricio,
P. 25.

A.C. 230? third Audience in another Camp, he positively told them the Emperor would promise nothing; but if they wanted assistance, and would go and prostrate themselves before him, perhaps they might meet with relief. Upon this they went away in a Rage; but however, during the time of *Menophilus's* Government for three Years together they were quiet.

A.C. 234. §. 2. It is probable such things as these might enrage the Germans, who taking the advantage of *Alexander's* absence in *Persia*, might think that a proper time to break in upon the Empire. His Victories in the *East* seemed to give a good Omen of future advantages against the Germans. *Thro thee*, said the Senate in their Acclamations upon his Triumph, *we hope for Victory over the Germans*, which he certainly would have had, if the Treachery of his own Creatures had not cut him off. He had got together a mighty Army, and they were fit for such an Expedition. He carried great Numbers of *Mores*, *Persian* Deserters, and *Ostroëni-ans* along with him, all incomparable Archers, or Managers of Darts, who could by that means gauge the Germans

at

at a distance, and being very nimble, could fall on and retreat of a sudden, which would exceedingly annoy those Northern People, who were unaccustomed to that way of fighting. And then his Legions being bred up to close fighting, would keep the Germans employ'd, whilst these light Horsemen plagued them afar off.

A.C.

234.



§. 3. *Alexander* thus provided, set out against them in the latter end of the Year CCXXXIV. The Senate and People, who dearly loved him, left him very unwillingly, and great numbers of them waited upon him 150 Miles out of Town. The weight of the War lay then upon the *Rhine*, where the *Germans* had got over, and made great wast in *Gaul*. Thither therefore *Alexander* went directly. Upon his approach they seem to have retreated, since we hear nothing of them till after *Alexander's* death; onely that they refused to hearken to any Conditions of Peace, or to receive *Alexander's* Money; with great Sums of which he would fain have bought it, being afraid of them, as *Herodian* would have us believe. He had not however been long upon the *Rhine*, before he was treache-

Lamp. in
Alex.
cap. 59.

Herodian
lib. 6. §. 15.

Ibid. §. 16.

A.C. treacherously murder'd in his Tent, in
235. a small Village called ^a *Sicila*, near
^b *Mentz*, where he then quarter'd.
^a Lamp. The Causes and Manner of his Death
^{ubi supra.} are differently related. The most like-
^b Euseb. ly Account is, That *Maximinus* who
Chron. succeeded him, laid the Train, and en-
^{collat. cum} flamed the Soldiers against their Prince,
Capit. in Max. c. 7. that he might get the Empire. He was
Zosim. lib. then Commander of the *Pannonian* Le-
1. P. 14. gions, and had the greatest Reputation
for Military Skill, of any Man in *Alex-
ander's* Army. The Soldiers having
Herodian been now XIII Years under one Man's
lib. 6 §. 17. Command, and not finding such fre-
quent and large Donatives as Re-
volutions usually bring along with
them, longed for a Change. *Maximi-
nus* too had in all probability poysoned
the minds of his own Men with Noti-
ons of *Alexander's* Cowardise and Co-
vetousness, and filled their Heads with
Hopes of great Glory, if he could but
manage the War, and large Rewards if
they would remove *Alexander*, and
make him Emperor. Whilst things stood
thus, some Legions mutinyed; those
Alexander threatned to break: He had
done the same before at *Daphne*, and
was alway's inflexible when his Autho-
rity

Lamp. in
Alex. c. 59.
^{collat. cum}
Capit in
Max. c. 7.

rity was called in Question. But now the Army was debauched, and the *Gallic* Legions would not bear that which the *Syrian* Legions contentedly submitted to. This Accident *Maximinus* laid hold of, and sent some *Germans* into *Alexander's* Tent to kill him, when he was laid to sleep after dinner, suspecting no Conspiracy. The Guards then in waiting at the Tent-door being asleep, one of the Company was sent in to assassinate the Emperor, whilst the others watched without. The Emperor being awake; took notice of the Man, and asked him *what he wanted, and whether he brought any Intelligence from the Enemy*. This sudden Question asked with so little concern, struck the Fellow, who expected nothing but Death for entering the Prince's Tent without Orders; and therefore he returned to his Companions, and desired their Assistance, who immediately broke in, and stabbed him with several Wounds. Thus *Lampridius* relates this Story.

A.C.

235.

Lamp. in
Alex. cap
61.

S. 4. *Herodian* on the other side lib 6 §. 17
makes the *Pannonian* Legions to have begun this Conspiracy. He leaves it in doubt whether *Maximinus* first laid

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the

A.C. 235. the Design, or whether his Men framed it themselves out of Love to him, who by his Courage and Care of them had won their Hearts, and Hatred to *Alexander*, whose Weakness had caused the Expedition against the *Perfians* to be unsuccessful, and whose Covetousness had made it not worth their while to serve him. When they offer'd *Maximinus* the *Purple*, he pretended (says *Herodian*) to refuse it with Indignation, and tore the Imperial Robes with which they clothed him; and nothing less than their drawn Swords could force him to take the Title of *Augustus*. These Legions that had thus proclaimed *Maximinus*, lay at some distance from the rest of the Army; they resolved therefore to make hast, and prevent the new's of their Rebellion by their arrival. *Maximinus* also encouraged them by vast Donatives, their allowance of Corn was doubled, and he gave them a general Pardon for all that was past. When these Legions had thus settled their Affairs, they set forward against their Emperor.

Ubi supra.

Ibid. §. 18.

§. 5. The new's of this Rising being brought to *Alexander*, he was in no small concern; he knew whom he had

to do with ; and where so much Ingratitude must concur with other Vices, he supposed no good was to be expected. However, he immediately acquainted his Army with this Attempt of the *Pannonians*, and set forth the Ingratitude of *Maximinus* very fully. He promised them to give what they could desire, and to redress any Grievances that they should complain of. He was answer'd with Acclamations, and Promises that they would stand by him to the last. Next morning about break of day, Intelligence came that *Maximinus* was near, and the Dust and Noise that were perceived at a distance confirm'd the Report. *Alexander* hereupon drew his Men into the Field, again imploring their Assistance, and intreating them to stand by him whom they had bred up, and with whom they had now lived near XIV Years; without any murmurings of either side. But he soon found he was betray'd; most of his Men laid down their Arms, and drew off to *Maximinus*: Others accused the *Captain of his Guards*, and his own Friends, as the Causes of this Revo't. Others laid all the blame upon *Mamaea*, whose Avarice undid her

A.C. 235. *self and her Son. Thus they stood ex-*
postulating with different Cries, till
Maximinus came up, who commanded
them to leave a niggardly Woman, and
a Boy blindly led by his Mother, and
go over to a Man of Wisdom and Cou-
rage, to their Fellow-Soldier and Com-
panion in Arms, who knew how to go-
vern Men, and command an Army.
The Soldiers accepting his Invitation,
Alexander retired to his Tent, where
he was killed by a Tribune and some
Centurions sent by Maximinus for that
purpose, in his Mother's Arms, accu-
sing her (as some said) as the sole
Cause of his Ruine. With him fell all
his Friends and Men of Quality that
were then with him, after he had reign-
ed XIII Years and IX Days, and lived
XXIX Year's, III Months, and VII
Day's.

Id. ib.

Lamp in
Alex.
cap. 60.

§. 6. This was the unfortunate End
of *Severus Alexander*, a Prince every
way worthy of a better Fate, and a long-
er Life. His Murderer *Maximinus* adds
to his Character; for nothing but such
a Monster of Cruelty and Ingratitude
could have attempted the Life of such
a Prince. *Maximinus* was not so much as
a *Roman* by his Birth. His Father was
^a a *Goth*,

^a Capit. in
Max. c. 1.
^b Cap. 2.
Herodian
lib. 7 §. 1.

Capit. ubi
supra.

^a Cap. 6.
^b Capp.
2, 3.

^a a *Goth*, and his Mother an *Alane*, who lived in a small Village on the borders of *Thrace*, where he was born. In his Youth he kept Sheep ^b, and being of a gigantic Stature and proportionable Strength, he often shew'd his Courage in repelling those that came to rob him or the Shepherds of his Neighbourhood. He was first taken notice of upon a Birth-Day of *Geta*, second Son of *Severus*, who took that occasion to divert his Army, by exhibiting some Military Shews. *Severus* was probably then in *Thrace*, but what Year it was we know not. *Maximinus* was then a Youth, at least ^a Eight Foot high, handsom ^b and strong, and coming to the Camp to see the Sports, was soon taken notice of. He could scarce speak a word of *Latin*, however he made himself to be understood in his request to try a Match of fighting with any Man in the *Roman* Army. Being a *Barbarian*, it was thought beneath any *Roman* to fight with him, so he was matched with some Gladiators, sixteen of whom he successively conquered at a heat. *Severus* amazed at this, ordered him presently to be enlisted as a Legionary Soldier. Soon

- A.C. 235. after he tired the Emperor with running a-foot by his side, whilst he was on Horseback; and then, whilst he was hot, he beat seven of the strongest Soldiers in the Army, one after another, for which Exploit he was made one of the *Guards*. This was *Maximinus's* first Rise. When he was fixed in the *Guards* he soon advanced himself; for he was cunning and sagacious, as well as strong. He knew how to please his Prince, and to get the Soldiers Love. This made him fit for *Caracalla's* purpose, who loved none but Soldiers: And under him he got a Centurion's Place, if not more. When *Macrinus* killed *Caracalla*, he would not serve under his Master's Murderer, but retired to his Native Countrey, where he bought an Estate, and lived privately. Under *Elagabalus* he came to Court again; but that brutish Prince soon disgusted him; whereupon he rambled about till *Elagabalus* died. He had a Legion given him, to tempt him to stay at Court, which he did not care for, but lingred up and down, sometimes staying in the Countrey, and sometimes pretending he was sick. His Character then was very good, for he was brave and popular among the Soldiers,
- Cap. 3.
- Cap. 4.
- Capp. 4, 5.

diers, and withal strictly kept them to their Duty. This made *Alexander* very kind to him as soon as he came to the Empire. He brought him into the Senate, and made him *Tribune* of a new-raised Legion, that he might form it to his mind. *Maximinus* answer'd his Ends so well, that *Alexander* employ'd him chiefly in reforming the rest of the Legions (*a*), which former Reigns had corrupted, and thereby gave him an opportunity to get that Interest, which he made use of afterwards to his Master's Ruine.

A.C.

235.

Cap. 6.

§. 7. Which when he had effected, it is incredible what Cruelty he used to secure himself. ^a All *Alexander's* Friends he kill'd without mercy. ^b All that knew him in his mean Estate, he looked upon as Enemy's, because they could reproach him with his original Poverty: Those therefore he cut off without remorse. These Severity's soon created him Enemy's, who partly out of Respect for *Alexander* that was killed, and partly out of Hatred to him, endeavoured to turn him out of that Government which he had now, seized upon. One *Magnus*, a Man of Quality, who had once been Consul,

^a Herod.

lib 7. § 1.

^b Capit. in
Max. c. 9.

Cap. 10.

& Herod.
ibid. §. 2.

A.C.

235.



Capit. ib.
c. p. 10.
extremo.

Herodian
ibid. § 2.

Euseb. H.
E. lib. 6.
cap. 28.

soon after his Inauguration framed a Conspiracy to destroy him. *Maximinus* was to march with his Army against the *Germans* over a Bridge, and when he was over, the Bridge was to be broken by those that guarded it, who were privy to the Design, and he was to be let loose to the Fury of his Enemy's. Some thought the Plot was contrived by *Maximinus* himself, who wanted a pretence to destroy his Enemy's, or those at least whom he thought so. Whoever contrived it, it is certain he made use of it to kill 4000 Men without Form of Justice. None were pardoned that were once examined; and very few had that favour, if it was one, as he managed it, to be examined at all, but were butchered without any sort of Trial. He persecuted the Christians, onely because *Alexander* favoured them, a great part of whose Family had embraced the Christian Faith. He was as covetous as cruel, and gave free Encouragement to Informers; who charged whom they would, with what Crimes they pleased, that they knew would pass for such at Court; and none that they informed against were safe.

§. 8. Such quality's soon made *Maximinus* odious as well as terrible to the whole Empire. His Victories against the *Germans* did not allay the People's Rage against him; There is no doubt but he did great things against them: *Alexander* was killed for his Cowardice, that at least was given out by the Creatures of *Maximinus*; and *Maximinus* was set up for his Ability's and Skill in War. It was necessary therefore that he should shew it, that the Empire might think they got by the change. Accordingly he cross'd the *Rhine* with a mighty Army, and broke into *Germany*. *Alexander*, as has been said already, had got a Noble Army together of *Osrhoënians*, *Parthians*, and *Mores*, with the standing Legionary Forces of the Empire, which were all drawn to the *German* Frontiers, excepting what were absolutely necessary for Garisons in the other Borders. All these *Maximinus* had now with him, besides great Additions which he made to his Army himself. With these Forces he invaded *Germany* in the Year CCXXXVI, where for 3 or 400 Miles he wasted all before him. The *Germans* retired into Woods and Marishes, leaving every thing

A.C.

236.

Herodian
lib. 7. §. 2.

Ibid. §. 5.

Herodian
lib. 6. §. 16.
collat cum
lib. 7. §. 5.Capit. in
Max. c. 12.

A.C. thing that the *Romans* could carry along
236. with them, as a Prey to the Enemy.

When he had made what Spoil he could, he went to *Sirmium*, where he wintred, threatening to subdue all the Nations as far as the Northern Ocean, which (say's *Herodian*, who loved to raise the Glory of *Maximinus*, thereby to depress *Alexander's*) had he lived, he would certainly have effected.

Id ib c. 13.
collat cum
Herodian
lib. 7. 5 7.

Id. 5. 8. §. 9. But what signified Victories abroad, when scarcely fewer of his Subjects, upon frivolous Pretences, were murder'd at home, than Enemies slain in the Field? What signified it to bring home Spoils of conquer'd Enemy's, when his own People were daily spoiled of what they had? Informers had now full Liberty against every Man; and upon old forgotten Pretences it was a common thing to ruine Men in an instant; to reduce those one day to Beggary, who the day before abounded in Wealth. This is *Herodian's* own Complaint, who in this Case may certainly be believed. The *People*, say's he, bore with these things till they were touched themselves; for inferior persons do often with pleasure see their Betters ruined, and those who perhaps oppress

opprest them formerly, brought to a Condition below themselves. But when *Maximinus* came to seize (as he did at last) upon the Public Stock of the Cities of the Empire, upon the Images, and Treasury's, and Shrines of their Deity's, and upon the Mony which was set aside for their Diversion in their Public Shews, and to squander it all upon his Soldiers, the Empire universally murmur'd. They cursed his Army's as the invidious Causes of their Oppression, to satisfy whose insatiable Avarice, all that they valued most was taken from them. They were ready therefore and longing for a Change, when in the Year CCXXXVII, in *Africa*, one of the quietest Provinces of the Empire, that Flame broke out, which in a short time consumed *Maximinus*.

A.C.

236.

Id. ib. § 9.

A.C.

237.

§. 10. The *Procurator* of the *District of Carthage*, who was alway's severe in his Condemnations, had among others fined some Young Gentlemen very heavily, upon some Cause for which they were brought before him : The Fine was so great, that had it been levy'd, it would have ruined them. But there was no Remedy ; the Sentences of *Maxi-*

A.C. *ximinus's* Officers were never taken off.
 237. They durst indeed do no otherwise,
 because they knew they should be in-
 form'd against, and then they might be
 undone themselves. These Gentlemen
 therefore knowing what they were to
 expect, desired onely three day's time
 to pay their Fine. In that time they
 got together great numbers of disaffect-
 ed Persons, with their Servants, who
 arming themselves of a suddain, broke
 in early in the morning on the third
 day, upon the Procurator, and killed
 him; and then being desperate, went
 to *Antonius Gordianus*, Proconsul of *A-*
fric, an old Man of near LXXX Years
 of Age, who lay then at *Thysdrum*,
 where this business happened. This
Gordianus had been put into that Em-
 ployment by ^a the Senate in *Alexander's*
 time, and had a great Reputation for
 his Integrity and Lenity. Him this
 Company resolved to proclaim *Augu-*
stus, supposing that when one Stroke
 was struck, they should find Abettors.
 The old Man, tho with difficulty, ac-
 cepted of the Honor, and then took all
 necessary care to preserve himself in it.
 For there was no going back, he must
 now either proceed, or perish. He was
 owned

Herodian
 lib. 7. §. 10.

^a Capit. in
 Max. c. 14.
 & in Gor-
 dianis c. 2.

owned with great Joy at *Rome*, and the Senate declared him and his Son *Augusti*. *Maximinus* lay at *Sirmium* when the News was brought him of what the *Africans* had done; and some time after, he marcht towards *Italy*, not questioning but to be thoroughly revenged of all his Enemy's in a short time. His Marches were very slow (*b*), Because he took his whole Army with him, having sent only the *Pannonian* Legions (which first declared him Emperor) before to seize upon the Passes of the *Alp's*, that when he should follow, he might find no difficulty.

A.C.

237.

Id.in Max.
cap. 14,
15, 16.

Herodian
lib.7 § 20.

§. 11. In the meantime the *Gordians* had but a short-lived Reign in *Africa*. It was a *Proconsular* Province always under the management of the Senate : For there being no need of standing Forces, the Emperors suffered the Senate to nominate its Governors from time to time. So that the Inhabitants were wholly unable to sustain a War, when *Capelianus*, Governor of *Numidia* a Frontier Province, declared for *Maximinus*. Formerly there had been some Disgusts between him and the Elder *Gordian*; as soon therefore as *Gordian* was proclaimed Emperor, *Capelianus* being

Ibid. §. 21.

A.C. 237. being Master of an Army, would not submit to his Authority, but preserving his Allegiance to his Master *Maximinus*, comes down to *Carthage*, (whither *Gordian* removed upon his being proclaimed) to oppose him. The old Man, unable to head an Army, sent his Son, who with what Men he could get together, numerous indeed enough, but wholly raw and undisciplined, met *Capelianus*, by whom his whole Army was overthrown with a mighty slaughter, and himself killed. Upon the first approach of *Capelianus*'s Army, the old Man hanged himself; so that both Father and Son did not enjoy even the Image of an Empire quite two Months.

Ibid §.14.

Ibid. §§. 22, 23.

July 9. §. 12. This however broke no measures at *Rome*. The Senate upon the New's of the *Gordian*'s death lost no time, but chose immediately *Pupienus Maximus*, and *Clodius Balbinus*, investing them both with equal Power (*c*), that one might go against *Maximinus*, and the other stay at *Rome* to take care of the Empire, in case of Accidents. *Maximus* was got as far as *Ravenna* in the way towards *Maximinus*, when the Head of his Enemy was brought him, who was killed by his own Men before

Herodian lib.8. §.17.

Aqui-

Severus Alexander.

511

A. C.

238.



Ibid. §. 13.

Ib. §. 4.

Ib. §. 12.

Ib. §. 15.

Aquileia. For *Maximinus* in the Spring CCXXXVIII, had crost the *Alps* without any difficulty, when he found the Gates of *Aquileia* shut against him, the Countrey round being quite destroy'd, and all Provision and Forrage taken away, so that his Army was almost starved. Besides, *Maximinus* could get no Intelligence any other way, for every Passage that led into *Italy* by Sea or Land, was carefully shut up, and Senators who had been in Army's formerly, were sent with choice Troops to guard the Posts through which they apprehended *Maximinus* would endeavor to break in. *Menophilus* also, and *Crispinus*, two Consular Men, threw themselves into *Aquileia*, which was full of Men and Provisions, and taught the Inhabitants to defend the Town during the Siege. It was defended with so much Obstinacy and Skill, that at last *Maximinus* killed several of his chiefest Officers for their Negligence, as he apprehended, in carrying on the Siege. This enraged his Men so much, that at last some of his own Guards killed him and his Son at the door of his Tent, and putting their Heads upon Poles, shew'd them to the *Aquileians*,

A.C. *ans*, and then sent them by the way of
 238. *Ravenna to Rome.* Those indeed that
 first framed the Conspiracy to take him
 off, were particularly alienated from
 him, upon the account of their quar-
Ib. §. 14. tring upon the *Albane Hill* near *Rome*,
 where their Wives and Children now
 lived ; so that they could not with pa-
 tience think upon the Ravage *Maximi-*
us would have made, if he had bro-
 ken into *Italy.* Yet setting the *Panno-*
nians , *Thracians* , and the barbarous
 part of the Army aside, these *Albani-*
ans (as they were commonly called)
 did nothing but what the Army in ge-
 neral, and all the rest of the Empire,
 was not a little pleased with. So quick
 as well as deserved a Vengeance pur-
 sued the Murderers of *Severus Alex-*
ander.

Vid. § 14.
collat. cum
§. 16.

§. 13. This Digression was thought ne-
 cessary, that a true Account might be
 given of the Fate of that inhuman Man,
 who alone was capable of doing so vil-
 lanous an Action as the depriving the
Roman Empire of their excellent Go-
 vernor, whose Years and Health pro-
 mised a Reign equal at least to that of
Augustus ; which if one compares the
 beginning of both those Princes, would
 have

have been infinitely the greater Blessing to Mankind. Something now will be expected to be said of his Person, his private Carriage, his Family; and his way of Living: For as Men are naturally desirous to know the little Actions of Great Men, so the better these Great Men are, the more it excites their Curiosity.

A. C.

238.



S. 14. *Alexander*, as to his Person, is described to have been handsome and strong, and one that took great Care of his Health. His Stature was about Six Foot (*d*); which in a Prince that was often to appear at the Head of great Numbers of Men, was very graceful. He had a quickness in his Eyes, that made it uneasy for any Man to look long and attentively upon him. He had an admirable Sagacity, so that he would frequently penetrate into the Thoughts of those who came to him about any Business; and his Memory was admirable, which help'd him much in the dispatch of it. He seems to have been an Enemy to unnecessary *State*, for he would never be called *Dominus*, or *Sir*, in common Discourse, but loved to be spoken to by his Name, and to be address'd to the same way in

Lamp. in
Alex. c 4.

Il. cap. 14.

C. p 4.

Letters, (e) onely with *Imperator* then added to it. But he could not endure to be called a *Syrian*, (because he knew the *Romans* had an ill opinion of that Nation,) especially after the *Antiochians* and *Alexandrians* had upon some public occasion called him, *Ruler of the Syrian Synagogue*, and *High Priest*. That the *Romans* might think themselves a free People, he put down that Custom of Adoration which *Elagabalus* began to introduce, after the manner of the Kings of the *East*. But nothing shew'd his unaffected Modesty more, than his obstinate Refusal of the Name of *Antoninus*, (which was not solely refused out of Hatred to *Elagabalus*), and of the Title *Great*, both which the Senate eagerly prest him to accept. He was very courteous to all that he suffer'd to come into his Presence. He would visit his *Friends*, and those he had a Kindness for, if they were sick, whether they were Senators, or *Equites*, or not. He loved Men should tell him what the World thought of him, and he encouraged Freedom of that kind; and if the Admonitions were proper, he would willingly take the hint, and mend what was amiss. His Mother and

Dion. p.
874 E.

Lamp. in
Alex c. 28.

Id c. pp.
7- -- 11.

Cap. 4 &
18.

Cap. 20.

and his Empress thought he weakened his Government by this Familiarity, and would have had him been more reserved; but he said he rather thought he strengthened it. Ibid:

§. 15. He was a great Lover of Learning, and competently skilled in it himself, especially in the *Greek*. He loved Poetry, and made Verses well; and to divert himself that way, he once drew up an Account of the good Princes his Predecessors, in Verse. *Virgil* he used to call the *Plato* of the Poets; and he kept *Virgil's* Image with the Images of *Cicero* and *Achilles*, in his second *Lararium*, where the Images of his second-rate Heroes were preserved. *Horace* also he had an esteem for, and *Serenus Samonicus*, who was his particular Friend and Acquaintance. *Mathematics* he was particularly fond of, especially *Musick*, in which he excelled, playing upon several *Musical Instruments* with great Skill; tho after he was Emperor, he would never suffer any but his Domestic Servants to be present when he plaid or sung. And as a farther proof of his Esteem for Letters, he gave Salaries to Professors of *Mathematics*, *Rhetoric*, *Grammar*, Capp 3.
& 27.

Ibid.

Cap. 35.

Cap. 29.

Phyſic, Mechanics, and Architecture, appointing them places where they ſhould read; and maintained great numbers of poor Free-Mens Children, in order to their being inſtructed in one or other of theſe Sciences. This he did at *Rome*. And in the *Provinces* he often gave Penſions to Advocates, to encourage them to be eminent in their Professions, eſpecially when they were generous in their Practice (*f*). *Oratory* and *Poetry* he thought were neceſſary parts of Learning, and therefore frequently went to hear the Public Exerciſes of the *Orators* and *Poets*; but then they were particularly charged to ſay nothing in Commendation of himſelf, which he would never bear with; but rather to make Harangues in praiſe of *Alexander the Great* (whom 'tis evident he had a vanity to imitate), or of ſome of the ancient famous Men of *Rome*.

§. 16. His way of Living was this: Every morning aſſoon as he was up, if he had not been with his Empreſs, he ſacrificed in his private Chappel, where were the Images of his chiefſt Heroes. Otherwiſe he diverted himſelf with fiſhing, or walking, or going out in his Cha-

Chariot; or hunting, unless he had particular Business to hear Causes, or to go to Counsel. (For common matters were wholly left to his Council, in whom he had a particular confidence.) When that was over, he usually spent some time in reading. *Plato's Discourses of Common-Wealth*, *Cicero's Offices* Cap. 30. and *Common-Wealth*, were Books he much delighted in. Tho besides them, he often read *Orators* and *Poets*, and *Lives of Famous Men*. When he was weary of reading, he would sometimes play at Tennis, and sometimes wrestle or run, and then bath: His Bath was generally cold, and he would stay in about an Hour; and if he exercised, he was alway's anointed before he bathed. He would eat some Bread, and Milk or Eggs, when he came from bathing, and then usually went to dinner. His Table was commonly filled with his *Friends*, and their Discourse was of matters of Learning, and frequently some *Greek* Author, or *Latin* Poet was Cap. 34. read to him. His Meals were alway's neat even to excess, but seldom splendid. Instances of his Thrift of that kind are preserved, which appear very strange to us at present; for

- Cap. 37. he is said to have taken an Account of his Wine, and Bread, and Meat himself. He ate much, especially Fruit, and drank freely, but never to excess; tho when the Officers of his Armies were about him, he would drink to them in memory of *Alexander the Great*, and then they might pledge him as largely as they pleased. This was a Custom *Trajan* brought up, thinking perhaps thereby to ingratiate himself with his Soldiers. After dinner his Secretary's attended, and then he wrote Letters, or signed Petitions, or any other Public Papers which they brought him. In the close of the day his Friends came about him, with whom he would talk familiarly; and as he had abundance of Wit, so he would be very pleasant and entertaining in his Discourse.

- Cap. 40. §. 17. He affected great Plainness in his Habit. He never wore Garments all of Silk, and never gave away any of half-Silk. His Wardrobe was always changed once a Year, which made the distributions of Garments to those who were to receive them from the Prince, come the oftener, and those distributions he would particularly over-

overlook himself. The Jewels that he found in the Treasury he sold, and applied the Money to the Uses of the Public, allowing the Empresses but very few, and using none about himself. An Ambassador having once presented his Wife with two Pearls of an unusual Bulk and Weight, he set them to sale: But being of too big a Price for any Jeweller to venture upon, he ordered them to be set as Pendants in the Ears of a Statue of *Venus*, not suffering his Wife to wear them; saying, it might be of ill Example to the Public, for an Empress to wear Jewels of too great a Price for any private Man to purchase. He always wore the *Toga Pura* in Rome (g) and the Cities of *Italy*: He never put on the *Toga picta*, but when he was *Consul*, nor the *Praetexta*, but when he sacrificed, and then too he wore it as *High-Priest*, not as *Emperor*. This Gravity in his Apparel was imitated by all the Men of Quality, whose Wives also follow'd the Fashion of the Empresses, which was exemplarily grave and plain.

§. 18. He was very magnificent in his Buildings. Besides his Generosity towards the Memory of former Empe-

- Cap. 25. rors, whose Works he repaired, he made Noble Baths in *Rome*, near those that *Nero* built, which he gave to the Public, and which long afterwards bore his Name. He began a *Court of Justice*
- Cap. 26. in *Rome*, called from him *Basilica Alexandrina*, 100 Foot broad, and 1000 Foot long, all upon Pillars, which would have made a most beautiful *Piazza* underneath; but that he finished not, being prevented by Death. He repaired the Temples of *Isis* and *Sarapis* very beautifully. He built several Magnificent Edifices at *Baiae*, with Ponds or Canals adjoining, of an astonishing Size, into which they could let in the Sea: Among others, he erected a Palace there, which he called by his Mother *Mamaea's* Name, in Honour of whom he named also some new Apartments that he made in the *Palace* at *Rome*. He set up large Statues, some on Foot, some on Horseback, in *Nerva's Forum*, in memory of all his *Consecrated* Predecessors; with Inscriptions upon Pillars of Brass, giving a short Account of their Actions, in imitation of *Augustus*, who had done the same for the Great Men of Ancient *Rome* in his own *Forum* formerly. He brought also Statues

tues of other Great Men that were not Cap. 26.
 Emperors, from many other places, and
 set them up in *Trajan's Forum*, in imita- Vide supra,
 tion of *Marcus*, who had done the like p. 131.
 for those that were killed in his second
German War.

§. 19. He seems not to have been
 jealous of Rivals in Power of any
 sort. Several offer'd at the Empire du-
 ring his time, who came to nothing.
Zosimus names two, one that called Lib. 1. p.
 himself *Antoninus*, and one *Uranus*, 13.
 who were both immediately crushed.
 A Third there was, a Man of Quality,
Ovinus Camillus (*b*), who try'd like-
 wise to form a Party, which was soon Lamp. in
 discovered to the Emperor. *Alexander* Alex. c p.
 was so far from being disturbed at it, 48.
 that he sent for *Camillus*, thank'd him
 for taking care of the Common-Wealth,
 and for undertaking that which good
 Men declined. He carried *Camillus*
 afterwards to the Senate, where he de-
 clared him Partner with himself in the
 Empire, and put Imperial Robes upon
 him, which were richer than his own.
 After that, *Alexander* invited him to
 go either alone, or along with himself,
 against the *Persians*; and when he went
 himself on foot, to shew his Army that
 he

the Munificence of his Buildings, and his Remission of Taxes when the People were over-charged, do ill consist with so much Avarice as *Mamaea* is charged with.

§. 21. For it is agree'd by all, that never Son was more observant of a Mother, than *Alexander* was of *Mamaea*. *Herodian* say's she perswaded her Son to marry a Wife, and then because Mother-in-Law and Daughter could not agree, *Mamaea* compelled the young Empress's Father to fly to the Camp for shelter, and afterwards got him killed, and then banished the young Lady into *Libya*, whilst *Alexander* was forc'd tamely to sit by, and endure these Indignity's. Nay, he accuses her besides of undoing several Persons by false Accusations, that she might seize their Estates. Could *Mamaea* have been capable of such Injustice, she was very ill instructed in the Christian Faith. But it depends wholly upon *Herodian's* single Evidence, and so we may safely disbelieve it, because it is not suitable to the rest of her Character. And as for the Story of her misusing her Son's Wife, we have a contrary Authority of *Dexippus*, a Writer of that time, to justify her.

Lib. 6. §. 5.

Ibid. §. 4

In Lamp.
Alex. cap.
49.

her. For he say's that *Macrianus* the Lady's Father was made *Caesar* by *Alexander*, and then conspired against him, for which he was killed, and his Daughter turn'd away. There is no Question but she was frugal, and truly there was reason for it. The Maximes of *Severus*, which were so exactly pursued by *Caracalla*, had made the *Guards* and *Legions*, the *Guards* especially, so exorbitant in their demands, that scarce any Donatives would content them. So much had been squander'd amongst them, that they knew not what to ask. It was *necessary* therefore for Emperors alway's to keep a considerable Treasure by them, that they might presently quiet any suddain Tumult.

§. 22. Especially for those Princes that were bent upon Reformation, this was still more *necessary*. *Alexander* had his Soldiers to struggle with, one where or other during his whole Reign. His Guards gave him much trouble at first. By what *Dion* say's, 'tis evident that *Alexander* was forced to wink at many things, and to delay the Punishment of some Criminals that had not a little deserved it, for a great while. He durst not let *Dion* come to *Rome*, when he had

P. 917. D.
E. & p.
918. D.

Herodian
lib. 6 §. 12.

had made him Consul with himself, because his Severity's in *Pannonia* towards the Legions there, had so much enraged his Guards. And it is probable this was remembred to *Alexander's* prejudice till his death, because *Maximinus* was set up by the *Pannonian* Legions. Before the breaking out of the *Persian* War, the *Mesopotamian* Army killed their Leader because he was a strict Governor, and many of his Soldiers deserted, and went over to the *Persians*, rather than they would be subject to the *Roman* Discipline. *Alexander* broke a whole Legion at once for their disobedience, and other Legions mutiny'd at the same time. The *Aegyptians* and *Syrians* would then have set up a new Emperor, probably that *Uranus* whom *Zosimus* mentions. All these things certainly gave *Alexander* a world of Trouble, especially, when having no Children, all his Family centred in himself. It was no wonder then if he and his Mother were solicitous to get a mighty Treasure, to distribute upon occasion, when they could no other way stem a Tide.

§. 23. He had Three Wives, and was unfortunate in all of them, upon the

the Account of their bringing him no Children. *Macrianus's* Daughter we have already heard of. Besides her he had two others, *Memmia* Daughter of one *Sulpicius* a Consular Man (*l*), and *Sallustia Barbia Orbiana* (*m*). This probably was the last, because he did not marry her till the Fifth Year of his Reign; and her Medals being numerous, give us Reasons to think that she lived several Years with her Husband. **CONCORD** is inscribed on most of her *Latin* Coins, which shew's that there was a perfect good Understanding between *Alexander* and her: And **FECUNDITY** being inscribed upon none of them, is a probable Argument that she never had a Child.

Lamp. in
Alex. cap.
20.

§. 24. *Alexander* was particularly desirous that Posterity should speak well of him; and that is given as one Reason of his Respect to Men of Letters, who could give Ages to come an Account of him, and of his Actions. Upon that score therefore we may esteem him unfortunate in the Loss of so many Historians that wrote his Life, of whom we have no more preserved, than what *Lampridius* thought fit to collect. Several Writers of that Age,
who

Id. cap. 3.

who had opportunity's of knowing the Truth, gave Accounts of his Actions; and *Lampridius* more than once appeals to their Authority, against the misrepresentations of *Herodian*. *Aurelius Philippus*, one of these Historians, was his Freed-Man, and in his Childhood had been his Tutor. *Encolpius* was known to him familiarly. ^a *Septimius* and ^b *Acholius* are mentioned as Writers of Exactness, and *Acholius* is said to have observed very minute Passages of his Life. *Dexippus*'s Authority *Lampridius* has help'd us to, to vindicate the Reputation of *Mamaea*; and *Gargilius Martialis* is mentioned as an Observer of trivial matters; from whom however, had he been extant, we might have learnt many things which would have cleared some difficulty's, concerning which we are always like to continue in the dark. The multitude of his Historians clearly shew's that *Alexander* was admired in his own Age as an Extraordinary Prince, since every thing he did was thought to be worth remembring, and so what one omitted, others still were ready to supply.

§. 25. But tho we want a great deal concerning him, yet we know that that

Age

Age did exceedingly lament his Death. He was *consecrated*, but at whose Re- Cap. 63.
quest we know not. He was buried
very magnificently at *Rome*, and had an
^a *Honorary Monument* set up for him in ^a *Cenotaphium*,
Gaule. And his Birth-day was kept ve-
ry religiously for many Year's after in
Rome. The *Romans* knew whom they
lost, and as they loved him when he
was alive, so they revered him
when he was dead. And had he lived
at any other time, his Loss would have
been more lamented, because he might
have lived much longer.

§. 26. For tho in some sense it might
be thought a Happiness to *Alexander* as
well as to the Empire, that he succeed-
ed *Elagabalus*, because his Glory shone
the brighter for the Vices of his Pre-
decessor, and his Subjects wanted a
Prince of his Virtue to redress such
enormous Abuses as the late Reign
must necessarily have occasioned: Yet
absolutely considered, it must be rec-
koned as his greatest Misfortune that
he came to the Empire when he did.
For Diseases of Nations may sometimes
be incurable, as well as those of pri-
vate Men. The Account which has
been given of *Alexander's* Predecessors

M m

from

from the Death of *Marcus*, will I hope give a tolerable Idea of the State of the Empire when he took it; of the *Greatness* of the Difficulties he had to struggle with; and of the *Causes* of that *Greatness*. And nothing can create in us sublimer Notions of the Blessings which a good Prince brings to Mankind, than Reflections upon those great things which this Young Emperor was able to effect, in a Government so disorderly and so depraved as the *Roman* was when he governed it.

ΤΟΣΟΥΤΟΝ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΑΓΑΘΟΝ ΤΟΙΣ
ΥΠΗΚΟΟΙΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ
ΗΓΕΜΟΝΟΣ. *Themistius.*

N O T E S.

(a) **I** Follow *Lampridius's* Account here, because in this Life, where he differs from *Herodian*, he seems to have been much more exact. He was nice in gathering Particulars concerning *Alexander*, tho he put them together without any Order. He says *Alexander* lived XXIX Years, III Months, and VII Days; and reigned XIII Years and IX Days. It is certain he was killed in the Year CCXXXV. Then if *Elagabalus* was killed in March CCXXII according to *Dion's* Calculation, *Alexander* was born in December CCV. But if he lived till after June 7. CCXXII. as upon the Authority of those Medals in *Mediobarbus*, which are inscribed TR. P. V. I think he did, then *Alexander* was not born before March CCVI.

Page 429.

(b) *Monf. de Tillemont* (*Vie de Alexandre, Art. 1. Note 8.*) thinks the Interview between *Mamæa* and *Origen* was in the Year CCXVIII; but *Eusebius's* Words will not bear that sense. Τῷ δ' Ἀυτοκράτορι μητρὶ Μαμαΐα τένομα, γυνὴ θεοσεβέσστη, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλη μερονύα, καὶ εὐλαβὴς καὶ πόπον, καὶ λειψύς πανταχόσε βοιωμένης φήμης, ὥς καὶ μέχρι τῆς αὐτῆς ἐλθεῖν ἀκούων ἐπ' Ἀρπιοχόας δῆτα διατρέβουσα, μετὰ στρατικῆς δορυφορίας αὐτὸν ἀνακαλεῖται. (*H. E. lib. 6 cap. 21.*) *Alexander* was not Emperor in CCXVIII. *Mamæa* is here called the Emperor's Mother. I can hardly think she would have sent a Guard for *Origen* to come to her from *Alexandria* in the Reign of *Elagabalus*. Had she then a Guard at her Command? She was not *Augusta* till her Son was Emperor. In such a dissolute Court as *Elagabalus's*, would she have used Guards for that purpose? But supposing this Interview not to have happened till *Alexander's* Expedition against *Artemerus*, it is all easy.

Page 433.

M m 2

(c) A 3

Page 434. (c) As *Alexander* had the Picture of our Blessed Saviour in his Closet out of Love to his Mother, so he had that of *Apollonius Tyanæus* in Complement to the Memory of his Great Aunt *Julia Domna*, at whose Command *Philostratus* wrote *Apollonius's* Life. And it is probable that might be the Reason of *Alexander's* studying the Auguries and Magical Rites of the *Gentiles*, wherein he was a great Master, (*Lamp. in Alex. cap. 27.*) which is a demonstration he was no *Christian*, how much soever he might reverence *Jesus Christ*.

Page 435. (d) The word in *Lampridius* is *Popinarii*. I render it the Company of *Vicinuallers*, because they are reckoned (*Lamp. ib. cap. 33.*) amongst those Trades which *Alexander* incorporated in *Rome*. *Corpora omnium consistuit, Vinariorum, Popinariorum, Caligariorum, & omnino omnium Artium.*

Page 440. (e) *Magister Scrinii Ulpianus fuisse perhibetur.* (*Lamp. in Alex. cap. 26*) Nothing expresses this Office so well as *Secretary of State*: Yet it contain'd a great deal more. There were four great *Scrinia*, or *Secretaries* Offices in the Emperor's Court, for *Letters*, for *Petitions*, for the disposal of *Places*, and a *Remembrancer's* Office. These had several *Secretaries* of their own, over whom there was one to whom they were subject, the *Magister Scriniorum*, the Master of the Offices, or principal secretary of State. See *Salmasius* upon *Lampridius in Alex. cap. 31.*

Ibid.

(f) So I understand *Zosimus*. He says *Flavianus* and *Chrestus* were at first made *Captains of the Guards*, and *Ulpian* was their *Ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν, Overseer*. Then says he, the Soldiers conspired privately to kill him. (*Ἀναίρεσιν αὐτῷ μηχανῶνται λαβράται οἱ Στρατιῶται*): which when *Μαμαία* perceived, she resolved to prevent by cutting off the Contrivers, (*αἰδομένης δὲ τότε Μαμαίας, καὶ ἅμα τῷ φθάναι τὸ ἐκίδεσθαι τὰς ταῦτα βουλόμενους ἀνελύσας*:) and then declared *Ulpian* sole Protector. Now I suppose the *ταῦτα βουλόμενοι* were *Flavianus* and *Chrestus*, because *Dio* says *Ulpian* killed them, to get into their Place. Τὸν δὲ δὴ Φλαβιανὸν πάντε Χρῆστον ἀποκτείναντες [*Ὁυλπιανὸς*], ἵνα αὐτὸς διαδέξηται. (p. 917. C.) *Zosimus's* Account suits much better

ter with *Ulpian's* and *Alexander's* Character than *Dion's* ; and since we have not *Dion's* Text in this place entire, it may be question'd whether *Xiphilin* and *Zonaras* understood him right.

(g) *Dio* was not Consul with *Alexander* till CCXXIX ; and he speaks of *Ulpian's* Death as happening a little before he came to *Rome*, in order to be made Consul.

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(h) It seems plain to me, as it did long ago to *Salmasius*, that all those Lives, from *Trajan* down to the *Maximines* exclusively, which go under the Names of *Spartian*, *Capitolin*, *Vulcatius Gallicanus*, and *Lampridius*, were written by the same Man, whose true Name perhaps was *Spartian*.

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(i) In King *Henry the VIIIth*'s time, when good Learning first began to flourish in *England*, *Sir Thomas Eliot*, a Gentleman who took much pains to introduce Letters amongst us, publisht a little Book, which he called the *Image of Governace*, compiled of the *Acts and Sentences notable of Alexander Severus* ; which (as he says in his Preface) he translated from a *Greek MS.* written by *Encolpius*, that had been put into his Hands some Years before by a *Neapolitan Gentleman*, one *Pudericus*. *Sir Thomas Eliot* complains in his Preface, That the Owner called importunately for his Book, whereby he was constrained to leave some parts of the Work untranslated. The Loss that Posterity suffers by this is inconsiderable, because the Book is spurious, and such a one as 'tis impossible the true *Encolpius* could ever write. It had probably been long since forgotten, if *Mr. Selden* had not revived it in his *Commentary upon Eusebius's Antiquities of the Churches of Alexandria*, which he published in MDCXLII, in order to beat down Episcopacy. *Mr. Selden* took notice of this *Image of Governace*, onely to confute one Mistake ; for he seems to have believed that there was such a *Greek MS.* from whence *Sir T. E.* translated it, onely written much later than the time of the true *Encolpius*. For my part, I question not but the whole Book was originally composed by *Sir T. E.* whose Story of the *MS.* which *Pudericus* lent him, was told onely to give his Book the more Authority among the No-

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bility and Gentry of *England*, to whom it is inscribed. He tells many Facts which are not in *Lampridius* or *Herodian*, his principal Authors, and therefore that these should not seem Romantic, he gives his Book an inviting Title, as supposing that the true *Encolpius* would never rise up in judgment against him. The Reasons for this Opinion I shall give out of the *Book* it self; all of which will (as I suppose) prove that *Encolpius* never wrote it, and most of them will shew that it was never translated out of Greek. I. Fol. 1. He says that *Alexander* was born in the City of *Arcene*. So *Lampridius*, *Urbe Arcena genitus*. (*Alex. cap. 1.*) The Greek Name of this City was *Arce* or *Arcae*. *Stephanus v. Arcae*. Ἀρχὴ πόλις Φοινίκης, ἣ νῦν Ἀρκὰς καλουμένη - - - - τὸ ἑθνικὸν Ἀρκᾶϊ. Sir T. E. here translates *Lampridius*. A Greek Writer would have said that *Alexander* was born at *Arcae*, or that he was an *Arcean*. II. *Ibid.* He says *Alexander's* Father's Name was *Varius*. *Lampridius* (*ibid.*) *Varii Filius*. But *Dion* says his Name was *Genesius Marcianus*. See *Dio. p. 887. E. collat. cum p. 902. A.* III. Fol. 1. verso. He calls *Elagabalus's* Mother *Semiamira*, after *Lampridius*. *Encolpius*, or any Greek, would have called her *Sonemias*, or *Sonemis*. IV. *Ibid.* He says *Elagabalus* was called *Varius*, because, as some men suppose, he was conceived of the seed of diverse Men. So *Lampridius* (in *Elag. cap. 2*) *Varii etiam nomen idcirco eidem inditum à condiscipulis, quod vario semine conceptus videretur*. One sees this is a plain Translation of *Lampridius*. The true *Encolpius* knew that *Sonemias's* Husband's Name was *Varius Marcellus*, and therefore that from the Father the Son was called *Varius*. (vide *Dionem ubi supra.*) V. Fol. 3. verso, are these words; *Diadumenus, who in Beauty and goodly Stature extelled all Men of his time*. I do not doubt but the true *Encolpius* called him *Diadumenianus*; but that I don't insist upon. *Diadumenus* was not XI Years old when he was killed. *Lampridius's* Character, *Puer omnium speciosissimus* (in *Diad. cap. 3.*) deceived Sir T. Eliot. VI. Fol. 6. verso. *Elagabalus* was slain, after he had reigned Six Years. *Encolpius* could never say this. (vide *supra, note q. p. 427.*) VII. Fol. 7. verso. He says *Alexander* was named *Severus* for his Severity.

Severity. So *Lampridius*, but not *Encolpius*, who knew that Name was assumed immediately upon *Elagabalus's* Death. *Vide supra*, p. 453. VIII. Fol. 9. verso. He says that *Alexander*, that he might in nothing aggrieve the Market in feeding his tame Birds with Corn, had Servants that provided for them Eggs of Wild Fowl and Culvers. This strange Account of *Alexander's* Thrift, given by Sir T. E comes from misunderstanding *Lampridius*. That Writer tells us, (*Alex cap. 41.*) That *Alexander* took great pleasure in breeding tame Birds; that he had Aviaries of Peacocks, Pheasants, Cocks, Ducks, and Partridges, and particularly of Turtle-Doves, in which he so much delighted, that he kept above 20,000 of them at a time; and then says he, *Ne eorum passus gravaret annonam servos habuit vectigales, qui eos ex ovis, ac pullicenis, ac pipionibus alerent.* i. e. That he might not burthen the Public by taking out of their allowance to feed his Birds, he kept Servants on purpose to sell the Eggs, and Chickens, and young Pigeons that his Aviaries produced, and with that Money to buy Corn to feed his Fowls: by this means *Alexander* did not gravare Annonam Had Eggs of Wild Fowl and Culvers been proper Food for *Alexander's* Birds, yet it would have been a greater Burden to the People to have provided a sufficient quantity, than to have fed them with the Public Corn. It is plain, that the English *Encolpius* offered at translating this Passage of *Lampridius*. IX. Fol. 16 He says *Alexander* made Gordian (Whom Fol. 20. he calls *Aelius*) Consul with himself. *Encolpius* knew the contrary. (*vide supra*, p. 456.) Besides Gordian's Name was *Antonius*, not *Aelius*. A corrupt passage in *Lampridius* (in *Alex. cap. 68.*) misled Sir T. E. X. Fol. 99. The mock *Encolpius* makes *Alexander* refuse the Title of Father of his Countrey, because of his Youth. Here he contradicts his Friend *Lampridius*, who says that *Alexander* took all the Titles that Emperors usually assumed, and Father of his Countrey amongst the rest. It will be said this is no Answer, because *Encolpius's* Testimony will outweigh *Lampridius*. True, it will so, but it will scarce outweigh the Authority of *Alexander's* Medals, whose Genuineness we have no reason to suspect. *Mediobar-*
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bus produces two out of his own Cabinet, of *Alexander*, whose Reverses are thus inscribed, P. M. T. R. P. COS. P. P. S. G. which no man will question to have been struck in the first Year of *Alexander's* Reign. XI. Fol. 52. *Alexander the Emperor writes to Alexander Bishop of Alexandria.* This *Anachronism* Mr. *Selden* observed, and thence concluded that *Encolpius* could not write this *Image of Governance.* There was no *Alexander Bishop of Alexandria*, before *Constantine the Great's* time. XII. Fol. 63. *Alexander is introduced upbraiding the Romans with choosing Elagabalus Emperor.* *Encolpius* would have acquitted the Romans from all manner of blame. *Herodian* could have informed Sir T. E. that the Romans submitted to *Elagabalus* because they could not help it. (*Herod. lib. 5. §. 10.*) XIII. Fol. 63 verso. Nor would *Encolpius* have asserted that *Alexander took the Empire against his Will.* Vide *supra* Life of *Elagab.* §. 20. *Alexander* then a Youth of XV, seems to have done just as *Maesa* and *Mamaea* bad him, without any hesitation; and there is not the least footstep in Antiquity (that I know of) to suppose the contrary. XIV. Fol. 79. *Alphenus is introduced discoursing with the Emperor concerning one Sextilius Rufus, whom he designed to make Praetor.* This is a fruitful Article, and affords us many Arguments by which we may judge of this Imposture. *Lampridius* in the Conclusion of his Life of *Alexander*, names several of those Wise Men who assisted that Prince in managing his affairs. Amongst the rest, in the printed Editions there is a Catalogue of most of those famous Lawyers, the Excerpts of whose Writings compose the Digests. *Pomponius, Alphenus, Callistratus, Moecianus*, and several others. Most of these were dead before *Alexander's* time, which is a plain demonstration that *Lampridius's* Copies have been interpolated. *Casaubon* and *Salmasius* from different MSS. observe that that whole Catalogue ought to be struck out. One of these ancient Lawyers who lived long before *Alexander*, was this *Alphenus*, whose Name Sir T. *Eliot* having read in his *Lampridius*, and in the Digests, he makes him bear a part in his mock-*Encolpius.* And then having found this passage in *Lampridius* (*Alex. cap. 19*)

alterum

alterum Praefectum Praetorii fecit, qui ne fieret, etiam fugerat ; he makes this *Sextilius Rufus* to be the *alter* whom *Alphenus* made a Speech against, who ran away to *Athens*, and staid there with *Sextus Charenensis* (*Fol. 86. verso.*) that he might not be made *Prator*. Now if this Passage be wrong read, and if this *alter* be the proper Name of a Man corrupted, then this whole History of *Sextilius Rufus* falls to the ground. *Casaubon* (*in loc.*) says the French King's MS. reads it, *Alexium Praefectum Praetorii fecit*, not *alterum*. He adds nothing to confirm or weaken this Reading, but leaves it as he finds it ; and *Salmasius* also who came after, let it alone. This I take to be the true Reading, and then *Alexius* was the Name of that modest man, who ran away because he would not be Captain of the Guards. *Alexander's* own Name was *Alexianus*, and so was his Grandfather's. *Alexius* therefore, or *Alexianus* were Names common in this Emperor's Family. This *Alexius* seems to have been a near Relation of *Alexander's*, for whose sake he ought to be remembered. And since he is mentioned no where else, his Memory can no otherwise be preserved, but by restoring the true reading of that Passage in *Lampridius*. Before I leave this Article, I shall observe that this *Sextus* of *Charenea*, with whom *Rufus* is made to sojourn at *Athens* by Sir T. E. was *Plutarch's* Grandson, and one of *Marcus's* Instructors above LXXX Years before. XV. *Ovinus Camillus's* Name is constantly mis-spelt. Sir T. Eliot always calls him *Oninius*. This Erratum occurs so often in several sheets, that it cannot be a mistake of the Press. *Oninius* may be mistaken for *Ovinus* in *Latin*, but it cannot in *Greek*. *Encolpius* writ it 'ΟβίνιϞ or 'ΟοβίνιϞ, either of which Readings would not have mis-led Sir T. E. who follow'd some blind Edition of *Lampridius*, where *Ovinus* was misprinted. But after all, what if *Encolpius* wrote in *Latin*? *Gerard Vossius* supposes he did (*de Hist. Latin.*) when he ranges him among the *Latin* Historians. Then indeed my Argument falls, because the Translator of his History into *Greek* might meet with a faulty Copy. But to make all this bear, several suppositions must be granted, which if they be denied,

Insc. Antiq.
p. 440.

nied, the Argument stands still in full force. XVI Sir T. E. has committed the same mistake in the very Name of his Author, whom he constantly calls *Encolpius*. That his true Name was *Encolpius* or *Encolphius*, we learn not onely from the MSS. of *Lampri- dius*. but from a Fragment of an Inscription published by the very Learned Signior *Fabretti*, where the same Person in all probability is meant. The Inscription is this — ET. P. EBEI COLLEGI. CONCOR- DIAE AUGUSTIANORUM FAMILIAE. CAS- TRENSIS ALEXANDER MARCELLIANUS. ET. ENCOLPHIUS. DOMITIANIANUS. CUBICULA- RI. STATIONIS. PRIMAE. D. D. *Marcellianus* his Partners Name in the Inscription being *Alexander*, seems to prove that he and *Encolpius* were both *Freed- Men* of the Emperor *Alexander's*. If so, we know that the true Name of our Historian was *Encolpius Domitianianus*; of which, if Sir T. Eliot had ever met with any thing of his Writing, we should not have thus long been ignorant. We learn also his Office, that he was *Bedchamber-Man* of the first Rank or Order to the Emperor: So I understand the *Cubicularius Stationis primae*. *Statio* here relates to the place where, or time when these *Bedchamber-Men* waited. No wonder then if *Alexander*, who was so courteous to all about him, was particularly fond of this *Encolpius*. *Reſere- bat Encolpius, quo Alexander familiarissimo usus est.* (*Lamp. in Alex. cap. 17.*) XVII Fol 82. verso. Sir T. E. has this passage, *What more Honor ever hapned to Rome, than that M. Aurelius Antoninus succeeded immediately Adrian?* There need no Arguments to prove that the Author of this Sentence was not the true *Encolpius*, XVIII. *Ibid.* *Antonine the Philosopher*. This Sir T. E. had from *Capitolinus*. The Title or *Lemma* prefixed to *Marcus's* Life by that Writer is *M. Antoninus Philosophus*. From hence modern Historians have generally conclu- ded *Philosophus* to have been a Title proper to *M. Anto- ninus*, as *Pius* was to *T. Antoninus*, and *Optimus* to *Tra- jan*. But *Philosophus* never was a Title given to *Marcus* in his Lifetime, nor by any ancient Historian, Medal, or Inscription, that I remember, after his death. The Greek and Latin Writers usually call him *Marcus*, with- out

out any other addition ; as *Augustus's* Successor was called *Tiberius*, and *Caligula Caius*, and *Vespasian's* eldest Son *Titus*, by their *Fore-Names* alone. For this reason I was willing in my Account of that Emperor to revive that ancient custom, and to call this *Imperial Philosopher* by that Name onely by which he was anciently best known. *Marcus* alone was then thought the most Honourable Name by which he could be called, as if no other *Roman Marcus* ever came into competition with him. XIX *Fol. 96. verso.* Sir T. E. makes *Ulpian* survive the Conspiracy of *Camillus*, which in another place (*Fol. 88. verso.*) he rightly sets at the time when *Alexander* went against *Artaxerxes*. Now it is certain that *Ulpian* did not live beyond the Year CCXXVIII, perhaps not so long, and that is sooner than even *F. Pagi* sets *Alexander's* Journey against the *Persians*.

These are some of the Arguments from whence I gather Sir T. E. to have been the first Author of the *Image of Governance*. Mr. *Selden* thought the Imposture lay at another door, and believed that Sir T. E. really translated a Greek MS. *Neque aliud quam Græculi alicujus recentioris commentum libellum illum fuisse dubito, utcumque sane Lampridio subinde satis concordem.* (Comment. in Eutychium pag. 175.) It was no wonder if the Maker of the *Image* made it agree with the Original from which he copied it. Mr. *Selden's* Authority imposed upon Mr. *de Tillemont*, who probably understood no *English*, and had never seen the Book it self. (*Vie de Alex. Art. 26*) *De Tillemont's* Account is this.

Formerly, says he, there was a Book printed in *English*, translated from the *Greek*, pretended to be written by *Encolpius* under the Title of the *Image of Governance*, which agrees pretty often with *Lampridius*. It speaks much of a Conversation that *Alexander* had with *Origen*. But there are Circumstances intermixt which do not agree with the History, so that it is believed to have been an Imposture of some later *Greeks*. Thus far Mr. *de Tillemont*. The Names of those two Learned Men have made it necessary that this Book should be examined with Care, and that the Public should be warned of it, that no Man hereafter may be imposed

sed upon by the Authority of this *Mock-Enscipius*, who when he first appeared in MDXLI. deceived no Body. For it is very probable that the Public believed the Book to be *spurious* at that time, and *composed*, not *translated* by Sir T. Eliot; because Bale who lived then, in his Account of that Gentleman's Writings (*Script. Britan. Gent.* 8 num. 77.) divides them into two Classes, *Compositions* and *Translations*, and puts this *Image of Governance* under the first Head. Which Argument is perhaps as good a one to prove my Point, as any of those that have been urged already.

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(k) *Marnas* or *Marnasba* in *Syriac* signifies *Lord of Men*, which is a proper Attribute of God.

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(l) The Ancient Romans did not let their Lands as we do to Tenants, who were to till the Ground with their own Stocks, and pay the Landlord such a Yearly Rent for the use of his Land: But they manured their Land with their own Slaves, over whom they set a *Vilicus* or *Bailiff*, who was to oversee the Laborers, and to give an Account to his Lord of the Profits which were annually made of his Estate. So that they were something like our *American Planters*, and their Estates not unlike our *Plantations*.

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(m) When *Alexander* was adopted, *Elagabalus* called him *M. Aurelius Alexander*; that appears from his Medals in *Mediobarbus*; from whence also it appears that he assumed the Name of *Severus* (in memory no doubt of the Emperor *Severus*) upon the death of *Elagabalus*. Nummi Alexandri in Mediobarbo ad annum CCXXII. IMPERATOR CAESAR MARCUS AURELIUS SEVERUS ALEXANDER AUGUSTUS In aversâ. Pontifex Maximus TRIBUNUS Potestate CONSUL Pater Patriae Senatus Consulto.

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(n) The word which *Alexander* used was *Campi-De-Eores*, as *Casaubon* and *Salmasius* read it. They were particular Officers in the Roman Armies, whose business it was to instruct the new-raised Men in all the parts of their Duty.

Ibid.

(o) When the Roman Emperors spake in public to their Armies, as we see they frequently did by their ALLOCUTIONS to their COHORTS, which appear upon their Medals, they always called them *Fel-*

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low-Soldiers; Commilitones. Quirites, which we can only render *Romans*, was a word of great disgrace when applied to them, and never used but when any of them were to be punished, as in the present Instance.

(p) The Nations bordering upon the *Danube* were in *Alexander's* time called *Germani*. *Marcus* lay at *Carnuntum* a Town in *Illyricum* a long time, when he was at War with the *Germani* or *Sarmatae*, as they were then promiscuously called. I cannot see to what else those Medals which mention a Victory of *Alexander's* over the *Germani*, can be referred, but to this Action of *Varius Maximus's*; and his being Governor of *Illyricum* is no hindrance. DE GERMANIS is inscribed upon one of his Medals, (*Meusobach ad Annum 229.*) These *Germani* probably then broke into *Illyricum*.

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(q) It is a difficult thing to decide when *Alexander* went against the *Persians* *Herodian* says he went in his 14th Year; but that is impossible, for he reigned but 13 Years, and 9 days. This 14 therefore (*Herod. lib. 6. §. 6*) *F. Pagi* (*Critic. in Baronium ad annum 228. num. 4.*) would correct to 7, because, according to him the War was begun in CCXXVIII, and *Alexander* went against the *Persians* in CCXXIX. and triumphed in CCXXX. He grounds this upon *Herodian's* saying that *Alexander* staid 3 or 4 Years at *Antioch*, when the War was over, to see whether the *Persians* would make any farther Attempts. But all this is precarious, being built upon a false Interpretation of one passage in *Herodian*, and another in *Dio*. *Herodian's* words are these, Ἐτῶν γὰρ τριῶν ἢ τετράρων ἡσυχασίᾳ [οἱ Βάρβαροι] ἔδ' ἐν ὅπλοις ἐγμύοντο ἀπὲρ βασιλείων δ' Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ ἔτι ἐν τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ διέτριβε. (*lib. 6. §. 15.*) The Barbarians were quiet for 3 or 4 Years, which [that they were quiet] when *Alexander* understood, he lay still at *Antioch*; i. e. till he heard of the Inroads of the *Germani*, but not the whole 3 or 4 Years. From *Herodian* (*ibid.*) and *Lampridius* (*in Alex. capp. 56 & 59.*) compared, it appears that *Alexander* went against the *Germani* as soon as he could, upon his return out of the East, i. e. as soon

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as soon as he had triumph; which consequently was upon Sept. 25. CCXXXIV. For to imagine with *F. Pagi* (*ad annum* 230.) that *Alexander* triumphed in CCXXX, and then went back again into the East, and staid 3 or four Years at *Antioch* to watch the *Persians*, is to contradict all the Historians that mention any thing of this War. *Alexander* then triumphed in CCXXXIV. By *Herodian's* Account of the War it appears that *Alexander* was at least two Winters in the East; so that he must have set out in CCXXXII, or in CCXXXI at soonest. The 4 Years of quiet which *Herodian* mentions of the *Persians*, ended in CCXXXVIII, when after the death of *Maximinus*, his Successor *Maximus* prepared to go against the *Persians*. (*Capitolin in Maximo & Balbino*, cap. 13.) This farther shews that *Alexander* did not conquer the *Persians* till the Summer CCXXXIII at soonest. The Passage in *Dion* from whence *F. Pagi* concludes that *Alexander* went against the *Persians* in CCXXIX, is this. Στρατὶ μὲν πολλῇ ἔμεινον τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ Συρίᾳ ἐπεδρῶσαι: *Artaxerxes*, says *Dion*, did ἐπεδρῶεν *Mesopotamia* and *Syria* with a mighty Army. *Non modo Mesopotamiam invaderet, sed etiam Syriam*, as the Latin Translation of *Dion* renders it, (p. 918. B.) The Translator here deceived *F. Pagi*, whose Skill in Greek was very moderate: ἐπεδρῶεν signifies not to invade, as the Translator rendered it, but to lie in wait, or to be ready to fall on, as occasion might serve. i. e. in Latin, *insidere*. *Artaxerxes* indeed did τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ ἐπεδρῶεν, lie ready to fall upon the Romans in *Mesopotamia*, in CCXXXVIII, as *Dion* asserts; but he invaded them not, at least for ought that appears to the contrary, till the Year CCXXX.

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(r) *Dion* says, that in the Year CCXXIX, when he makes an end of his History, *Artaxerxes* did τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ ἐπεδρῶεν, (p. 918. B.) i. e. lie ready to invade *Mesopotamia*. I suppose then that in CCXXX he might break in; and that in CCXXXI, or rather CCXXXII, *Alexander* set forth against him. *Mr. de Tillemont* (*Vie de Alexand-e*, Note 8) supposes the same thing, but proves it by an Argument which I fear will not hold. He says this War against the *Persians* did not begin till the
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the Year CCXXXI at soonest, because an *Anonymous* Writer, quoted by *Eusebius* (H. E. lib. 5. cap. 16. p. 135. B) says, *That from Maximilla's Death to that very day, there had been no War general or particular for more than XIII Years; but rather, that the Christians enjoyed a lasting Peace; Πλείω γὰρ ἢ τρισχίδια ἔτη εἰς ταύτῃ τῷ ἡμέραν, ὅξ' ἔτετελεύτησαν ἡ γυνή, καὶ ἔτι μείζους ἔτε καὶ πολλοὺς κόσμους ἤγονε πόλεμος. ἀλλὰ Χριστιανοῖς μᾶλλον εἰρήνην διάμουν.* ὅξ' ἔλεγε Θεῷ. So long a Peace, says *Monf. de Tillemont* cannot be found from the time that *Montanus* first dispersed his Prophecies, till above 100 Years after his death, but only from the Year CCXVIII, when *Macrinus* was killed, till the Year CCXXXI. Hence says he it follows, that *Alexander* could not go against the *Persians* before that time. But Πόλεμος, or War, here relates only to the Christians, and is equivalent with Διωγμός, Persecution, *There was no War*, says this *Anonymous*, general or particular, throughout the World, for above XIII Years, but on the contrary the Christians enjoy'd a lasting Peace; Ἀλλὰ Χριστιανοῖς μᾶλλον εἰρήνην διάμουν. There is no consequence in these words, if they be otherwise understood. For there might be Wars when there were no Persecutions; and tho there were Foreign or Civil Wars, yet if there were no Persecutions, the Christians reckoned that they enjoy'd εἰρήνῃ τῷ διάμουνον, a lasting Peace. In the main however, as to our Conclusion, I join with *Monf. de Tillemont*, that *Alexander* went not against the *Persians* till the Year CCXXXII, or the latter end of CCXXXI: But rather, not till CCXXXII, because there is no ground to believe that he was above two Winters in the East.

(s) This probably is the LIBERAL. III. inscribed upon *Alexander's* Medals; for it does not appear by the Coins themselves in what Year this fourth *Liberty* was given.

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(t) *Mr. de Tillemont* takes notice here, that it is very difficult to understand *Herodian's* Geography in his description of this War. Dans le recit de cette Histoire, *Herodien* suit une Geographie à laquelle je ne comprends rien. (*Vie d' Alexandre*, note 9.) I entirely agree with *Monf. de Tillemont*.

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(u) They

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Lib. 6. § 13.

(u) They are *Herodian's* own words; Ἦσαν δὲ τινες ἀγγέλλοντες τῷ Πέρον ὡς ἀρχαὶ οἱ τοῦ Ρωμαίων στρατοῦ ἐπερθε, ἐν τοῖς ἐσθλοῖς μέρεσι Παρδυσιῶν. *Ctesiphon* and the Confluence of the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris* were in the *Western*, not the *Eastern* Frontiers of the *Parthian* Empire. The *Parthian* Kings having no formidable Enemies but the *Romans*, who lay *West*, for that reason made *Ctesiphon* the Capital of their Empire. See Note precedent.

Ibid

(w) The Coins of *Alexander's* Victories are very perplexed: In some is TR. POT. VIII. DE GERMANIS shew what they refer to. In others we have VICTORIA AUG. S. C. & VOT. X. For Reasons already given, I cannot refer these to *Alexander's* Victories against the *Persians*. The *Decennalia* commemorated in VOT. X. were over about the time that *Alexander* went against the *Persians*, and consequently some time before his Victories against them. Then these Coins must relate to *Varius Macrinus's* Victory against the *Germans*, which seems to have been of great Importance. The Medals which have onely VICTORIA AUG. S. C. and others that have INVICTUS AUGUSTUS COS. III. may easily be understood to belong to *Alexander's* Victory over *Artaxerxes*, since they have no Chronological Mark to ascertain the Time. IMP. with a Numeral Note had been left off ever since *Caracalla*; and TR. POT. is inscribed upon very few of *Alexander's* Coins, which otherwise would have directed us in the History of his Reign.

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(x) The only Instance that I know of to the contrary, is of *Elagabalus*, who is called upon his Coins INVICTUS SACERDOS SOLIS ELAGAB. (*Vide supra*, p. 394) But his whole Reign was one continued Series of Irregularity and Folly; and so Examples drawn for or against any thing from his practice, signify nothing.

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(y) There are several Reasons why in those things wherein *Herodian* is contradicted by *Lampridius*, the Authority of *Lampridius* should be rather followed: 1. He quotes the Journals of the Senate for what he says, which were extant in his time. 2. *Herodian* describes

scribes *Alexander* as exceedingly covetous, and led to be so by his Mother; and yet his Medals mention five *Liberalities* which is an ambiguous word for *Donatives* and *Congiaris*. And *Herodian* himself confesses that *Alexander* gave a noble *Donative* to his Soldiers when he went towards *Persia*; and it is certain from *Lampridius*, that he gave the People a *Congiaris* when he came back. Ὁ δὲ [Ἀλέξανδρος] ἐπιδὲς αὐτοῖς χρήματα, μεγαλοφρόνως, εὐπερίεχον τὰ πρὸς τὸ ἔξοδον ἐκέλευσεν. (*Herodian lib. 6. §. 10*) This was before he left the City. Agen, after he was defeated, he gave them another *Donative*. Τὲς τε Στρατιῶται ἀνεκτῆτο, καὶ ἐπ' οἷς ἐλελύπητο παρεμυθεῖτο μεγαλοδωρεῖα χρημάτων. (*ibid. §. 15*) 3. *Herodian* in the same place says that *Artaxerxes* was so weaken'd by his Victories that he sat still three or four Years; and yet *Alexander* was so afraid of him that he increas'd his Forces as much as ever he could, and was with great difficulty just able to keep his Men from mutinying, because he had drawn them into such distresses. These things are inconsistent. Do we think that *Artaxerxes* could not get Intelligence of *Alexander's* condition? And can we then believe that he would not have chosen rather to fall upon him, than to make an Irruption afterwards when *Maximinus* was Emperor; who if he had conquered *Maximus* and *Balbinus*, (as at first it was most likely that he should) would have been a more terrible Adversary to *Artaxerxes* than ever *Alexander* had been? I rather think *Herodian* had a particular pique to *Mamaea*, whom he constantly blackens. Might it not be because of her Love to Christianity? That certainly was the true Reason why *Julian* gives such a contemptible description of *Alexander* in his *Caesars*: Where he introduces him sitting in the Assembly of his Gods, below the Company, like a Child with his fingers in his Eyes, lamenting his Misfortune in being so basely Murther'd; and then sets *Silenus* upon him to laugh at him for suffering his Mother to heap up those Treasures which he ought rather to have bestow'd amongst his Friends. (*Juliani Caes. p. 313. A.*) *Julian* here copy's *Herodian*, and vents his own Malice at the same time; and perhaps the Malignity of them

both sprung from the same Cause. But besides, if we look back upon those Romantic Stories mentioned already out of *Herodian*, which are all plainly confuted by *Dion Cassius*, we shall have reason to suspect him where he cannot be reconciled to other Writers; for where he contradicts them not, there is no Reason why he should not be follow'd. *Vide supra Severus*, §§. 13, 14. *Caracalla* Note *g*, p. 373. *Macrinus* Note *f*, p. 376.

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(*γ*) The memory of this LIBERAL. V. is preserved in a Medal produced by Mr. *Paillont*. (*Præf. Imp. Numismata*, part 2. pag. 298.) and from him by *Mediobarbus* (*ad annum* 232.)

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(*z*) This Story is only preserved in the *Excerpta Legationum* out of *Petrus Patricius*, which are Printed in the first Volume of the *Byzantine Historians*. There is no mention in the fragment of the time when this *Menophilus* lived. We know that one *Menophilus* a Consular Man managed the Siege of *Aquileia* in CCXXXVIII, against *Maximinus*, and that makes it highly probable that he was Governor of *Moesia* under *Alexander*. It suits likewise with *Alexander's* frugality, not to multiply Pensions, which were too heavy already.

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(*a*) So I understand *Capitolinus* when he say's, *His rebus conspicuum virum [Maximinum] Alexander magnorum meritorum iudex in suam perniciem omni exercitui præfecit.* (*Capitolinus in Maximinis cap. 7.*) *Zosimus* say's he was Παιονικῆς ἱλνς ἐξηγέρμενος. (pag. 14.) *Herodian* say's *Alexander ἐπέστη [Μαξιμίνον] πᾶσι τῇ τῷ στρατῷ νεολαίᾳ.* (*Lib. 6. §. 17.*)

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(*b*) *Herodian* say's *Maximinus* went towards Italy quickly after he received the new's that the *Eldesst Gordian* was proclaimed Emperor. (*Lib. 7. §. 20.*) Now it is certain that the *Gordians* were Proclaimed at *Rome* May 27. CCXXXVII. (*Capitolin. in Maximin. cap 16.*) And the same *Herodian*, whose Accounts of *Maximinus* are rather more particular than of any other Emperor, say's, he came against *Aquileia* when the Waters were swelled by the melting of the *Alpine Snow's*, (*lib. 8. §. 8.*) which could only be in the Spring CCXXXVIII. Whence it must follow that *Maximinus* did not leave *Sirmium* to go for Italy, so soon as

Here

Herodian seems to intimate. And besides he contradicts himself by his Descriptions of the Preparations that *Maximus* and *Balbinus* made to keep *Maximinus* out of *Italy*; which suppose a longer time than a March from *Sirinium* to the foot of the *Alps* would allow. It is certain *Maximinus* could not die before CCXXXVIII, because there are Coins mentioning his TR. POT. III. which did not begin till that Year. (*Mediab. ad annum* 238.) One of these Medals *Mediobarbus* published out of his own Collections, and the other was communicated to him by *Card. Noris*.

(c) I follow the calculation of *Mr. de Tillemont*, Page 510² (*vie de Maximin. Art. 7. Note 8.*) who has fixed the time of the *Elder Gordians* very accurately.

(c) As thus. *Domitius Ulpianus M. Aurelio Severo Alexandro Imp. Salutem.* So the antient Romans alway's wrote. *M. Cicero D. Bruto Imp. S.* If a man were *Consul Prator*, *Chief Priest* or *Consul Designatus*; or any other very Eminent Officer in the times of the Commonwealth, he just named his Title after his own Name, and no more. Examples are frequent in *Cicero's Letters*. *Trajan* affected popularity wonderfully, and therefore we find in the 10th Book of the younger *Pliny's* Epistles that *Trajan* and He address to one another thus; *Trajanus Plinio*, and *Plinius Trajano S.* *Pliny* indeed say's *Domine*, i. e. *Sir*; in the body of his Letter, which *Alexander* here forbids. The *Elder Pliny* is yet more familiar with the *Emperor Titus*; to whom he dedicates his *Natural History*, when *Titus* was Partner with his Father in the Empire. For he say's only *C. Plinius Secundus Vespasiano suo S.* In allusion to this simplicity of the Ancients, I remember to have met with a modern Dedication of a Book to *Cardinal Richelieu* which began thus, *Latine ad te scribo, Armande Cardinalis, ut eo melius meipsum liberem formulis servitutis.* Page 514.

(f) In *Provinciis Oratoribus forensibus multum detulit, plerisque etiam Annonas dedit, quos constitisset gratis agere.* (Lamp. in *Alexandro* cap. 44.) That is, as I suppose, he gave them *Pensions* (*Annonas*) if they had used to plead *Gratis* for those that could not pay them. Page 516.

Page 519. (g) The *Roman Gown* or *Toga*, which was made like a Sack, onely open at both ends, is well described, with the way of wearing it, by Dr. *Lifter*, in his *Voyage to Paris*, p. 32, 33. The *Prætexta* was a Gown with Purple woven round the Borders, therefore called by the *Greeks*, *Περικροφεις*, wherein it differ'd from the *Latus Clavus*, I know not.

Page 521. (h) The *Ovinii* in *Alexander's* time were a very considerable Family in *Rome*. *Ovinus Paternus* was Consul in the Year CCXXXIII; and *L. Ovinus Rusticus Cornelianus* was Consul under *Maximinus* in CCXXXVII.

Page 522. (i) I do not see why *Monf. de Tillemont* should question the Truth of this Story. (*Vie de Alexandre*, Art. 18.) For *Lampridius* cites three contemporary Historians to vouch it, *Septimius*, *Acbelius*, and *Encolpius*, who could not be deceived in this matter. I think *Monf. de Tillemont* is also out in assigning the time of this Action, (*ubi supra*.) For he mistakes a Coin in *Osco*, and from that mistake supposes that *Ovinus Camillus* aimed at the Empire in CCXXVIII. *Lampridius* says *Camillus* was made *Cæsar* (for so I understand his Partnership) *cum expeditio barbarica esset nuntiata*. (*In Alex. cap. 48*.) It is plain that *Alexander* was then going upon some Military Expedition. But I can find no Expedition of *Alexander's* before that against *Artaxerxes* in CCXXXII; and therefore in that Year I place the design of *Camillus*. Now *Osco* in both Editions of his *Imperial Medals*, produces in the Year CCXXVIII, a Medal inscribed PROFECTIONE AUG. S. C. This Medal *Osco* places immediately under another, inscribed P. M. TR. P. VII. COS. II. S. C. *P. Pagi* (*Dissertat. Hypat. p. 176*.) who misled *Mr. de Tillemont* in this business, takes these two Inscriptions to belong to the same Medal, one to the Front, the other to the Reverse, and thence infers that *Alexander* went that Year against the *Persians*. *Mr. de Tillemont* runs into the same Error about the Medal, and then infers that *Alexander* went against some *Barbarians* (tho he can't tell who) that Year: Only he would correct the Medal, and read it PROFECTIONE AUGG.

AUGG. in case it refers to *Camillus*. Now both these Learned Men did not consider that *Occo* assigns this PROECTIO AUG. arbitrarily to the Year CCXXVIII. For the Head to which this Reverse belongs, is inscribed IMP. SEV. ALEXAND. AUG. without any time denoted. The same Inscription is round the Head of the other Medal, on whose Reverse is P. M. TR. P. VII. COS. II. S. C. *Occo* here follows his old Method, *i. e.* sets under one Inscription of a Head, all the Reverse of Coins of several Metals that belong to it. *Mediobarbus* understood this, and therefore removed the Medal inscribed PROECTIO AUG. S. C. to the Year CCXXX, because he thought *Alexander* went against *Artaxerxes* that Year. If *Camillus*'s Partnership is ever mentioned in a Medal, 'tis on this PROECTIO AUGUSTI CAES. S. C. which *Mediobarbus* after *Occo* sets at the Year CCXXXIV, as if it had belonged to *Alexander*'s Expedition against the *Germans*; whereas if CAES. upon the Medal relates to *Camillus*, it must be referred to the Year GCXXXII, as I have prov'd already.

(l) *Occo* (p. 422) produces a Greek Medal inscribed ΣΟΤΑΠΙΚΙΑ ΜΕΜΜΙΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ. *Goltzius* also has the same; from whom *Occo* took it. But since I find it in no other Antiquaries, I am afraid it is spurious, and forged on purpose to suit with this Passage in *Lampridius*.

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(m) We know nothing of this Lady, but from Medals. She was believ'd to be the Wife of *Decius*; but a Coin of *Decius*'s being found with *Herennia Etruscilla*'s Head upon it, has restored *Etruscilla* to her true place; to which her Right is farther confirmed by the Name of one of her Sons, who is called *Herennius Etruscus*. Other Medals also have been found with *Alexander*'s and *Orbiana*'s Heads together.

Ibid.

(n) *Monf. Vaillant*, in his noble Work lately printed, entituled *Nomismata Imp. Græca*, (p. 171.) has published a Medal inscribed ΚΑΛΛΟΤΥΚΙΑ ΒΑΡΒΙΑ ΟΡΒΙΑΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ; with L. E. on the Reverse. This shews that it was coined in the fifth Year of that

Ibid.

Emperor's Reign, whose Empress *Orbiana* was. This likewise demonstrates that *Orbiana* could not be Wife of *Decius*, or of either of his Sons. *Monf. Vaillaut's* Authority is indisputable, because he had seen all the Coins he mentions, and as his Skill would not let him be imposed upon, so his Fidelity has never yet been called in question.

I N D E X.

I N D E X.

A

A *Brham's* Image kept by *Alexander*, p. 434.

Achilles's Tomb visited by *Caracalla*, why? 318. Statue erected, 319.

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Aemilianus, Lieutenant to *Niger*, 275. Slain in an Engagement with *Severus's* Army, 276.

Aesculapius worshipt by *Caracalla*, 317.

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Africans rebel against *Maximinus*, 507. Set up *Gordianus*

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Agrippa (*Marcus*) Governor of *Dacia*, 344.

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Agrippinus (*Fabius*) put to death, 386.

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Alexander Cotyaan, *Marcus's* Tutor, 5. Commended by *Aristides*, *ibid.* Character, 7.

Alexander, Great, imitated by *Caracalla*, 316. By *Severus Alexander*, 472.

Alexander, Platonist, Instructions to *Marcus*, 18.

N o 4

Alexander

Alexander (*M. Aurelius Severus*)

Birth, 429. Named *Alexianus* first, 408. and *Bassianus*, 430. Son of *Mamaea*, 349. Adopted by the name of *Alexander*, 409. Made *Caesar*, *ibid*. Attempted to be debauched by *Elagabalus*, 410. Educated by *Mamaea*, *ibid*. 430. 432. His Tutors, 431. They are sent away from him by *Elagabalus*, 410. Adoption attempted to be made void, 411. Attempted to be kill'd, *ibid*. Prevented by *Mamaea*, 412. Guarded by the Army, *ibid*. Carried to the Camp, 413. Consul, 415. Death contrived by *Elagabalus*, 417. Preserv'd by the Soldiers, *ibid*. Reveng'd by them, 418. Never Christian, 433. Has the Images of *Abraham* and Christ in his Closet, 434. Designs to erect a Temple to Christ, *ibid*. Suffers no Christian Churches to be demolisht, 435. His Family almost all Christian, *ibid*. Makes Re-formations, 437. Appoints a Council of XVI Senators in all Civil Affairs, 438. Honours *Ulpian*, 439. Connives at *Ulpian's* Murderers, 441. Manner of making Laws, 446. Great Care of disposing Offices, 447. Tender of oppressing the People, 448. Way of providing for his Officers of Justice, 449. Punishes Oppression, *ibid*. Forbids Oppressors his Presence, 450.

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- lated by *Marcus*, 126. And *Alexander*. 459.
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C.

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Zoticus Instrument of *Elagabalus*, 426.

A D D E N D A.

PAg. 27. lin. ult. *Now Quæstor, though but in the XVIIIth. Year of his Age*. My most Learned Friend Mr. Dodwell, in a Letter which he sent me upon some Difficulties, concerning which I consulted him in this Work, inform'd me, that I had set the time of *Marcus's* Quæstorship wrong; for he was not Quæstor till the Year CXXXIX the Year before he was Consul, which was the XIXth. Year of his Age. *Capitolinus* expressly says, That *Pius* designed *Marcus* for the Consulship, when he was actually Quæstor. *Adhuc Quæstorem & Consulem secum Pius Marcum designavit, & Cesaris appellatione donavit.* (in *Marc.* cap. 6.) Now it is certain that *Marcus* was not Consul till the Year CXL.

Pag. 71. lin. 3. After before, add, By deposing Furis- us their King, because he was the Romans Friend, and setting up Ariogæsus their violent Enemy in his place, and by, &c. Marg. add. Dio. pag. 808. C.

Ibid. lin. 28. After them add, And besides all this, he issued out a Proclamation to apprehend Ariogæsus their New King, promising a Thousand Aurei to any Man that would bring him alive; and Five Hundred Aurei to him that should bring his Head; and after he was apprehended, Marcus banished him to Alexandria. Marg. add. Dio. Fragg. Vales. p. 717.

Pag. 92. lin. 17. After Letters add, When Cassius's Head was brought to him, he would not see it, but order'd the Bearers to bury it somewhere privately: He would not suffer any Senator that joined with Cassius so much as to be imprison'd, much less kill'd or bound;

bound ; nor would he try them at his own Bar, but left them to the Senate, as in any other Common Cause. Indeed scarce any Man suffer'd upon that Account, unless he was also found guilty of other Crimes. *Flavius Calpurnius* the Governor of *Aegypt* was a remarkable Instance of this : For though he had betray'd his Trust by delivering up that important Province into *Cassius's* hands, yet *Marcus* only banish'd him without seizing upon his Estate, and burnt the Informations that were given against him, that his Reputation might not suffer upon that Account. *Marg. Dio. Fragg. Vales. pag. 717, 718.*

Pag. 93. lin. 15. After banish'd add, So that there seems to be no doubt in *Dion Cassius's* Opinion, who was a very Competent Judge, but that *Cassius* would have been pardoned freely, if he had been brought alive to *Marcus*. *Marg. Dio. Fragg. Vales. p. 721.*

Pag. 147. All that is said here of *Lucilla Junior* must be struck out. *Marcus* never had such a Daughter, nor did *Pertinax* ever marry any of the Daughters of *Marcus*. My Mistake was grounded upon a wrong Interpretation of a Passage in *Herodian*. For he in his Account of those whom *Caracalla* killed after he had murder'd his Brother *Geta*, says, That he also killed τὸν Περτινανῶ 'Υιὸν, τῆς τε Κομμοδῆς ἀδελφῆς Λυκίλλης 'Υιὸν. The Son of *Pertinax*, and the Son of *Lucilla the Sister of Commodus*. (*Herod. lib. 4. §. 11.*) It is plain by this Interpretation, that the Son of *Pertinax*, and the Son of *Lucilla* were different persons. *Politian* renders these Words thus ; *Filiumque Pertinacis & Lucillae Commodi Sororis, The Son of Pertinax and Lucilla, Commodus's Sister*. This Translation makes *Pertinax* the Husband of *Lucilla*, and consequently there must have been two *Lucillae*. *Politian's* Translation deceived *F. Pagi* (*Critic. in Baronium ; ad annum CLXXX. num. 4.*) and he misled me. The Sheet was wrought off before I discerned the Error, which I avoided afterwards in my Account of *Caracalla*, (*vide supra pag. 306.*) Hereupon I think my self oblig'd to take notice that I cite *F. Mabillon's Analeſta* and *Gruter's*

ter's *Inscriptions* in this same place, upon the Word of *F. Pagi*. I had not the Books by me, and have not had an opportunity of consulting them since.

Pag. 163. lin. 11. After said add, If after all, Tertullian's forte be so to be understood. Forte signifies by chance, or accidentally, as well as perhaps. So Virgil Elog. 7. Forte sub arguta confederat ilice Daphnis: And so probably Tertullian meant it. Christianorum forte militum precationibus; By the Prayers of the Christian Soldiers who were then accidentally present.

Pag. 200. §. 19. After these Executions were over, Commodus thought it necessary to sweeten the People, who had been of a long time unaccustomed to such Severities. He made therefore very noble Distributions (a), and did several other Popular Acts in Rome; one particularly that confirms Dion's Character, that if Commodus had had Courage to withstand Temptations, he might have proved an excellent Emperor. The Story is this; One Manilius, who had been Latin Secretary to Avidius Cassius, and his particular Favourite, when Cassius was killed, made his escape, and lived privately, expecting no Mercy if he were apprehended. This Man was now taken, and though he offer'd to make great Discoveries if he might be pardon'd, yet Commodus would receive none of his Informations, and order'd his Papers to be burnt without reading them. Marg. Dio. Fragg. Vales. pag. 725.

(a) We find many Coins in Medisobarbus belonging to the Years CLXXXIII, and CLXXXIV, that mention his Munificence, and his Liberality's to the People; and sooner than CLXXXIII. we cannot lay those first Executions of Commodus, if we believe Herodian, that for some Years after Marcus's Death he follow'd the Advice of his Father's Friends, and did nothing without their Counsel. Herod. lib. 1. §. 19.

§. 20. But the Hopes which the People might conceive of better Times from this Lenity of Commodus, if they did conceive any, were soon gone. For now being free, &c.

Pag.

Pag. 255. lin. 38. For And round the Reliefs within the Crown is inscribed, read, with these Words inscribed.

Pag. 260. lin. 11. At the word Augusta add this Note :

(a) Though it is certain from Dion's Authority, who was then in the Senate House, and so cou'd not be mistaken, that Titiana was never declared Augusta by the Senate; yet for all that she took the Title of Augusta, or at least, it was given to her, as well as to other Wives of Emperors. Mons Vaillant in his Numism. Imp. Græc (pag. 88.) produces two Medals of Titiana coined in Aegypt with TITIANH CEBAC-TH round the Head.

Page 547. After Note (c) add this Note.

Page 513. (d) Lampridius's words are these, Fuit & statura militaris. Upon which words Salmasius proves that the just and usual Stature that was required in Soldiers when they were enlisted, was Six Foot. So also Vegetius, who says that Marius admitted none under 5 Foot 10 Inches. Proceritatem Tyronum a Consule Mario scio semper exactam, ita ut senos pedes, vel certe quinos & denas uncias habere————probarentur. Veget. de re militari. lib. 1. cap. 5.

Page 549. After Note (i) add this Note :

Page 523. (k) Vide supra page 545. Note y.

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